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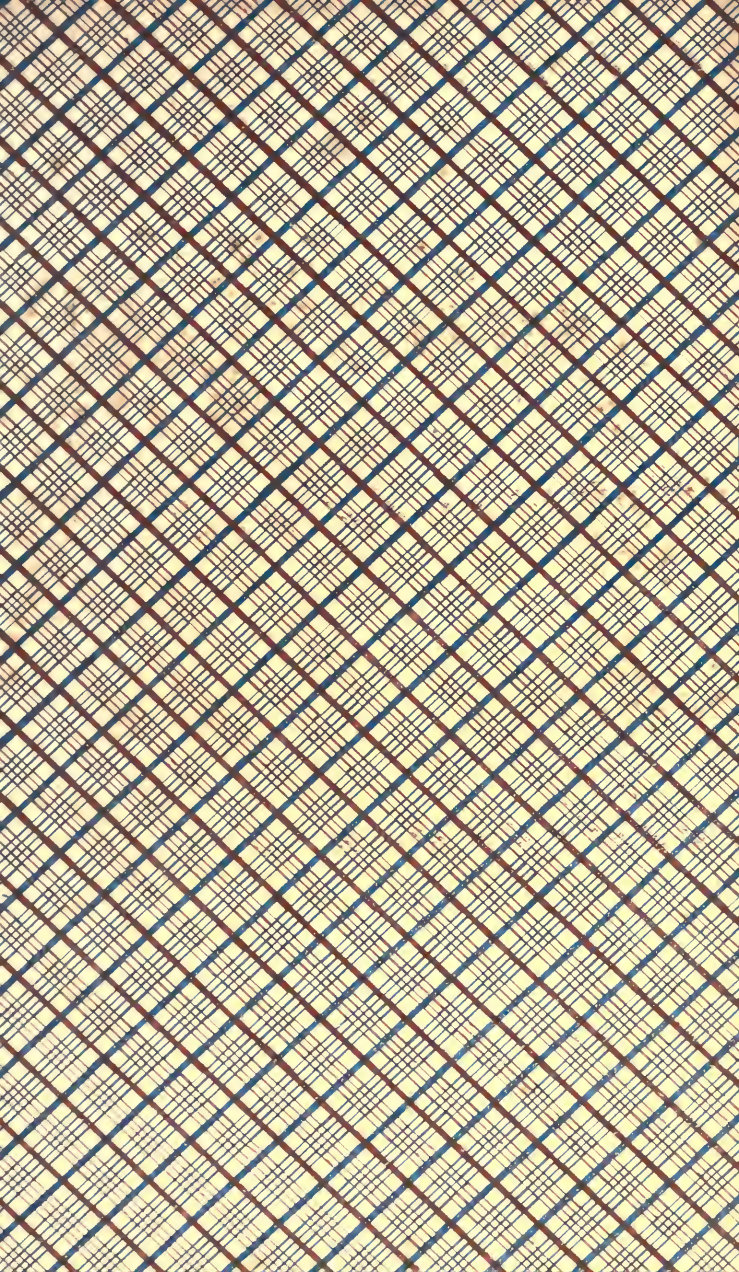
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REVELATIONS

OF

AUSTRIA.

BY

M. KOUBRAKIEWICZ,

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EX-AUSTRIAN FUNCTIONARY.

EDITED BY THE AUTHOR OF

“THE REVELATIONS OF RUSSIA,” “EASTERN EUROPE,
AND THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS,” ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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R E V E L A T I O N S
OF
A U S T R I A .

CHAPTER VI.

AUSTRIAN RELIGION.

THE introduction of Catholicism into the Slavonic countries is confounded with the establishment of German oppression, to which Catholicism has only served, and serves but as a pretext and instrument.

As the Slavonic provinces, of Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia, Pannonia, Hungary, Croatia, Pomerania, Prussia, the Duchy of Posen, Masovia, Red Russia, Poland, &c., &c., began to embrace Catholicism, they happened to fall, as if it were a necessary consequence thereof, straight into the clutches of the Germans. The power of Poland was never preponderating, never dangerous to the liberties or independence of other states, but it was in the interest of the Kaisers to make it appear too powerful at the courts of France and England, to render these, through the dread of a common danger, more indifferent to the fate of Poland, or even more favourable to the meditated project of dismemberment.

The Kaisers were powerfully seconded in their project by the Roman Pontiffs, who excited the Poles to war against the Turks

and Russians, and by the Jesuits who organised civil war.

It was they who founded the institute of the Jesuits in 1540, and introduced it into Poland through the intermedium of the *soi disant* Polish Cardinal, named Hozius, of Italian or German origin.

The Jesuits first took root in Poland by taking into their hands the education of youth, by inducing people to make them presents, and leave them landed property, capital and lordships—always for the salvation of the soul—and then began their work.

After the union with Lithuania, Poland counted more than three fourths of its inhabitants who professed the orthodox faith. It was these orthodox Poles, called Ruthenians, that the Jesuits, according to the order received, forced to acknowledge the supre-

macy of a Roman Pope, a foreign sovereign and a despot.

The Szlachta militia and nobility then governed Poland, at least apparently ; but these governors were influenced by their wives, who were influenced by the Jesuits, and the Jesuits received their orders from the Pope.

The Pope was governed then, as he is now, (at least as far as Poland is concerned) by the Kaiser. . During this period the Polish throne was occupied by a Swedish Prince, Sigismund, and an Austrian Archduchess, his wife. What schemes were devised by the Kaisers to oppress unfortunate Poland ! Jesuits without country, vagabonds from all countries, a German Hozius, a self-styled Polish Cardinal, a Swedish Prince, nominally called King of Poland, a German Archduchess—*soi disant* Queen of Poland !

The most barbarous and cruel persecutions

were then instituted against the orthodox Ruthenians, the most virtuous and religious christians amongst the Slavonian nations.

In order to induce the orthodox Ruthenians to apostatise, the Jesuits, as we have already said, called this Christian faith the religion of the mob, because its service is rendered in the Slavonic language, which every body understands, and that its priests marry like the people and do not keep mistresses.

The Bishops and orthodox priests, who would not abandon the religion of their ancestors, who wished to obey the Polish republic and not a Roman despot, were dismissed and persecuted.

The Hetmans of Kossacks, Kosinski, Feodor, Naleywako, and Pawluk, Colonel Loboda and other officers and deputies of

the Cossacks, invited and drawn to Warsaw, under the pretext of hearing and settling the religious differences, were traitorously seized, walled up alive or assassinated.

The Hetman Pawluk and other Cossack officers were first flayed alive, and it was only after this operation that they were decapitated.

To the greater glory of God these heads were sent into the Ruthenian provinces, where they were impaled and exhibited in several towns.

The Cossacks and all the Ruthenians of Lithuania, Volhymnia, Podolia and the Ukraine, who before the union with Poland were free, and who neither knew tithes nor forced labour, were subjected by the Jesuitised Poles, to this humiliating servitude, which until then only degraded the Polish Catholic peasantry.

The Jesuits even made use of the Jews to oppress the Christians.

The orthodox Christian churches were farmed to the Jews, who had a right to shut, and only open them on payment of a heavy tax, which they exacted from those Christians, who only wished to have mass said, to celebrate their worship and pray to the Christian God in the language of their fathers. The orthodox Poles were forbidden the entry of all the towns. In order to distinguish the orthodox Poles, who would neither abjure the faith of their ancestors, nor acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, from those who acknowledged the Pope's or rather the Kaiser's sovereignty without changing their faith, the latter were compelled to wear suspended from their neck, tin plates.

The evangelical Poles, flying persecution, left their country and sought the protection of the evangelical King of Sweden.

By means of promises of tithes, privileges, and pensions, a portion of the orthodox clergy was thus corrupted, which, either willingly or compulsorily, signed, in 1595, the act of submission to the authority of the Pope, or sovereignty of the Kaiser; but the final result of these barbarous persecutions was the merited contempt of the Polish republic by all well-meaning men in Europe.

The hatred and defection of the Ruthenians and Cossacks, who preferred placing themselves under the equivocal protection of Russia—the interference of foreign courts in the internal affairs of Poland, and lastly, anarchy and the dismemberment of ancient

Poland, to the exclusive profit of the Germans —this is the situation to which the Jesuits have brought us : these are the consequences of our credulity, of our want of consideration in religious affairs, and of the fanaticism which has blinded us—*In quo discordia cives perduxit miseros.* (VIRGIL).

It is an instructive lesson for the people whose Jesuitised clergy voluntarily submit to the absolute Roman, foreign and anti-national monarch, and which declares itself independent of the indigenous, national, constitutional government. In order to finish with the Jesuits, and bring forward the last proof of these dependants of Habsburg, I will add that they were hostile to the Popes and to the liberal sovereigns, whom they called tyrants, but were never seriously opposed to the Kaisers.

The Jesuits leave in peace the non-Romanist Germans in Poland and Germany and attack Switzerland and France, to the advantage of their occult master, the Kaiser.

Every year the Austrian government selects the most docile and obedient amongst the pupils of the second year of philosophy who are aspiring to the ecclesiastical state, and sends them to Vienna to study hierarchy, called theology.

They are then moulded and metamorphosed into good Austrian servants, and enlightened as to the real sources and foundations of all religions and revelations. It is from amongst these ecclesiastics that Austria exclusively chooses her professors of theology, gymnastics, and the faculties; her missionaries, canons, and more particularly bishops and archbishops.

Thanks to this system the Austrian pre-

lates and priests are generally convinced that all their spiritual authority rests on the absolute temporal authority of the Kaiser.

After the invasion of Poland by the Austrians the Polish priests wished to remain independent as they were at the time of the Polish republic.

The agents of the philosophic Kaiser, Joseph II., asked them if they did not require the protection of the temporal government in their spiritual functions.

“No,” replied the priests boldly.

The Germans then applied themselves to teaching and proving to the people, that original sin, auricular confession, absolution, transubstantiation, benedictions, masses, miracles, revelations, etc., etc., were only a kind of jugglery instituted to deceive the people for the purpose of living at its ex-

pense, and that the priests were only cheats and hypocrites.

At Vienna the Germans did not even uncover themselves at the solemn entry of the Holy Father into that capital of the aristocratic world.

They answered the women who called upon them to uncover themselves and receive the Pope's blessing which he was distributing right and left—

Ist des papstes segen gut---so dringt er auch durch den hut. The literal translation of which is, "if the Pope's blessing is good it will penetrate equally through our hats. In short the Germans worked so well, that faith in the priests and veneration for the sacred character began to be shaken, and the latter saw themselves forced to submit, without conditions, to the temporal power in

order as they said to save God from these calumnies.

The King of Prussia, who endeavours to force the Poles to become Evangelicals or German Catholics, plays actually at Posen the same part as the Kaiser Joseph played. If the Polish priests desire to save Polish nationality, their religion must be an intellectual force, which it will only become when it has for its basis philosophical principles. Otherwise humanity and Poland will remain indifferent to struggles between Roman Catholic and German Catholic priests.

The liberty of the press, which has its inappreciable advantages, is also liable to abuses and certainly the priests are not the last to pervert it.

“The Guide of the Young Communicant,” a work printed in 1840, composed by the

Abbé Bataille, canon of Bordeaux, dedicated to Cardinal Cheverus and approved by this Cardinal and by the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Tours, contains amongst other things, for the instruction of youth, the following stories, page 154—*great miracle relating to the Eucharist.*

“ A Jew named Jonathan, living at Paris, Rue des Billettes, had pledged to him some clothes belonging to a poor woman. On Easter Sunday he offered to return them to her in order that she might appear more decently at church, on condition that she should deliver to him the consecrated Host which she was to receive at communion. She accordingly brought it to the Jew who forthwith proceeded to exercise all his malice against the blessed Host. He pierced it with a pen-knife, the blood flowed and rekindled his rage ; he then hammered

nails through it, the blood flowed again, he then threw it into the fire, but it issued entire and appeared to invade him.

“He tried to cut it to pieces but could not succeed.

“He stuck it up in an infectious place and struck it with a lance, to renew as much as possible the crime of his fathers, when lo ! a fresh stream of blood issued from it.

“At last the Jew plunged the Host into a cauldron of boiling water, whereupon the water immediately appeared bloody, and the Host rising up took the form of a crucifix.

“This last miracle so astonished the unfortunate Jew that he retired in confusion.

“His son, however, having gone out and said to some other children, whom he saw going to church, that it was in vain that they went to pray to their God, as his father

had killed him ; a woman passing was struck by the child's remark, entered the house and discovered the vestiges of the Jew's horrible brutality.

“ The Host came of its own accord and placed itself in a small vessel which she held in her hand. This christian woman carried it to the church of Saint Jean en Grève and delivered it to the Curé.

The Bishop of Paris, informed of what had happened, ordered the criminal to be seized, who confessed his crime, and refusing to be converted, was delivered over to the strong arm of the secular law, condemned to be burnt and duly executed.

“ The wife and children of the Jew became converted and were baptised.”

“ Again ; a young man who lived in habits of criminality, did not reveal all his sins at confession, and had the audacity to present

himself at the holy table to receive the adorable body of Jesus Christ ; hardly had he received the communion than he was possessed by a devil, who did not cease to torment him every day in a horrible manner. The Bishop having assured himself that the man was really possessed, charged a missionary to exorcise this demoniac. The missionary, wishing to show those that were present that this man was really possessed, commanded the demon to lift him up and keep him suspended to the vault. He then ordered him to render unto him the body. The demon obeyed, and threw it to the ground without hurting it.

“ Answer me,” said the missionary unto him, “ why hast thou taken possession of the body of this christian ?” the demon answered, “ I had a right to him. he must be mine, he has made a bad communion.”

This young man was freed by the prayers which the missionary offered up, etc., etc.”

The Austrian government would never allow similar holy anecdotes to be published unless they were offered as an example of the superstition, of the people and corruption of the priests, who endeavour by these Gascon miracles to persuade the people that they really have the power of changing bread into a living God and of commanding devils. Excepting the miracles of which the gospel and holy fathers of the church speak, and which are believed to be revealed and necessary to the existence of religion, all posterior miracles are severely forbidden in Austria.

The authors, editors, printers, and disseminators of miracles having for object the exciting hatred of Catholics against Jews, or of debauching the imagination and intelli-

gence of children, to the advantage of the parents, are punished in Austria by the *Carcer Durus*, or *Durissimus*.

The priests, whose profession is based on falsehoods, are first alarmed and cry martyrdom every time that the liberty of the press is advocated for the masses, or that of the instruction of youth by honest professors, and learned men, who are fathers of families, friends of legitimate propagation of the human species, enemies of illegitimate commerce, and of those propensities which stultify the intellect, fanaticise the mind, and brutalize the heart.

The sacred laws of nature are not to be violated with impunity.

The high and sonorous voice of the Almighty is not to be smothered by a vow or criminal oath ; reason, that celestial source of all religion, is not to be treated

with contempt without self degradation, and debasement of the human intellect.

There are those who pretend that the Popes, Kaisers, and Kings only introduced celibacy for the priests in the Fourteenth Century in order to stupify, fanaticise, and brutalize them by generating secret vices ; and that the use of wine in the sacrifice of the mass was only introduced from Southern countries in order to facilitate the exportation of their wine, to make commerce prosper, and to banish sobriety.

CHAPTER VII.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

1. CIVIL JUSTICE.

As relates to civil justice, the Austrian subjects are divided into three distinct classes ; nobles, burghers and peasants ; each of these three classes has its particular tribunal.

When the defendant is noble the case

must be carried before the tribunal called *Forum Nobilicim*.

There are in Gallicia three courts for the nobles ; at Leopold, Tarnow, and Stanislaw ; about fifty or sixty leagues distant from each other.

They are each composed of a president, vice president, from five to eleven judges, and a certain number of subaltern officials to copy and expedite the business as well as to preserve and enregister the documents.

These judges have the title of Royal and Kaiserial councillors, and are paid, as well as all the subordinate employés, by the Kaiser.

It is also the same noble's courts which judge exchequer causes, those of the clergy and parishes. Causes which concern the revenue can only be judged in the presence

of a Gubernial councillor, who has a right to influence the judges and stay the judgment if it were prejudicial to the treasury.

To judge causes arising between Burghers there is in every town a court called magistracy. The magistracy of Leopold is composed of a Burgomaster as president, of a vice-Burgomaster, and from nine to thirteen judges called councillors of the magistracy, and of a number of subaltern employés. All the other magistracies of the Gallician towns are composed of a single Burgomaster who judges, subject to appeal, the causes of the citizens.

In some of the larger and richer towns there is besides, for the distribution of justice, a syndic and one or more assistants. The magistrates are, at the same time, charged with the political administration of the town and with the levying all kinds of taxes.

All the civic employés (Stadtische) are paid by the town ; but the town has not the right of electing its officers. It is the courts of the circles and Gubernium who grant their diplomas of qualification and who appoint them, the town having only to pay their salaries.

The causes of the peasants are judged by dominical jurisdiction, that is to say, by the lord himself, or by his employés, called justiciaries or mandataries.

These seignorial employés are hired and paid by the lords, but the Gubernium makes them undergo an examination, and grants them certificates of qualification.

The appeal from the judgment of these three courts is carried before the court of appeal sitting at Leopold, and which determines the affairs of all classes of subjects of the Polish provinces. When the judgments

of the court appealed from, and that to which the appeal is made, are not in conformity, it is then allowable to resort to the supreme tribunal sitting at Vienna, which is the last court of appeal: the treasury alone has the right of resorting to the supreme tribunal at Vienna even when the decisions of both courts agree. There is only one court of appeal for each province, and there is only one supreme tribunal for all the hereditary provinces. There are no *juges de paix* in Austria, every complaint, request, or defence must be carried before a Manorial court, written in Latin or German and signed by a lawyer. The Polish is expressly forbidden.

The first step which the plaintiff makes is called *actio*; in this *actio* the plaintiff must set forth his demands and allege his proofs.

The judge having received this *actio*, communicates it to the defendant, through the

intermedium of a servant of the tribunal, (Gerichtsdienener,) indorsed with an injunction to return an answer to the tribunal within fourteen or thirty days.

This answer, which is called *exceptio*, is communicated to the plaintiff in order that he may give his rejoinder, which is communicated to the defendant that he may make his duplicate (duplica) and conjointly a catalogue of the acts and documents alleged; sign, and deliver them to the court.

The president of the tribunal having taken cognizance of the case confides it to a judge, in order that he may make his report to a judicial session.

The session which judges a cause is composed of at least three judges, including the president and recorder.

The judgment is written, and copies are delivered on stamped paper to the plaintiff

and defendant. The party desiring to appeal from the decision of a court must forward his intentions to the tribunal, which communicates it to his adversary, in order that he may provide his answer.

The court then dispatches all the documents, together with its report, to the court of appeal, always within fourteen days ; it is allowable for the parties to ask for delays of from two to four months, and sometimes for two, three, and four years, by which means a simple action for the recovery of money before it is finally decided, lasts at least two years ; occasionally, even when it is a question of a considerable sum, when the defendant proffers the judge a becoming present, and that the plaintiff will not give any, or even refuses to pay more than his adversary, the affair often lasts five, ten,

fifteen years ; and even longer when the plaintiff is poor and the defendant wealthy.

After the exhibition of the duplicate the judge communicates it to the plaintiff, and invites the two parties to present themselves before the tribunal on the day fixed : the two advocates then appear. The same course is followed in appealing to the supreme tribunal. The judgment, called sentence, is delivered in Latin or German, and contains only the condemnation or acquittal of the defendant. The reasons or motives are never given, but it is allowable for the parties to ask them of the tribunal.

There are no public or open sittings.

The parties are not to know either legally or officially the name of the judge, but they always do ascertain it, because the judge has his Jew, called factor, who presents him-

self to the parties or their lawyers, and secretly informs them that their case is in the hands of such a one. Then the parties think over the means of gaining their cause, as it is forbidden both sides under criminal penalties to attempt to corrupt the judges, who nevertheless get paid by both, and are sure not to be betrayed: Firstly, because the corrupting party, who should first inform, would be condemned to *Carcerem durum*, or *durissimum*; and secondly, because the deposition of a Jew against a Catholic judge would prove nothing in an Austrian court of justice.

The same proceedings take place in the municipal or magisterial tribunals, and in the seignorial jurisdictions, with the exception that it is allowed the parties to present themselves personally before the judge, and

remit or dictate to him their complaint or defence. There are therefore only lawyers in the three towns in which the noble courts hold their sittings.

All lawyers, without exception, are doctors of law, but they do not form a body.

The civil code of 1811, compulsory for all the hereditary states, excepting Hungary, is modelled on the code Napoleon. Whole articles from it are copied word for word.

The system followed however in the Austrian code is more logical and lucid than in the French code.

The Austrian code is divided into three divisions ; the first exposes the rights of individuals, *jura personarum* ; the second, personal rights, *personalia* ; the third exposes real rights, *jura rerum realia*.

Majority is fixed at the completion of twenty four years of age.

The marriage contract to be valid must be

drawn up before the clergyman of the parish, and in the presence of two witnesses.

The law does not require that the contract should be concluded at church.

Persons leaving one or more illegitimate children can only dispose of one half their property by will.

The other half must be left free to their legitimate offspring.

Women, legally of age, may dispose of their property in the same manner as men, whether to living persons or by testamentary disposition.

The married people have reciprocally a right of succession to one quarter of the usufruct when the deceased leaves three children, or less, and to the same portion as the children when there are four or more.

Divorce is not permitted when either of

the married parties profess the Catholic religion, but is allowed to Protestants and Jews.

In case of a difference of religion between the married couple, the sons follow the religion of their father, and the girls that of their mother.

Marriages between Catholics and Jews, or Mahomedans, are forbidden as crimes.

Excepting the marriage contract, all other contracts and agreements are made without the intervention of the public authorities.

There are no notaries in Austria. For inscribing titles to property, and mortgages on villages, burghs, and towns belonging to individuals, there is only one single office in Gallicia ; this office, which is called *Tabula provincialia*, is established at Leopold, the chief town of Gallicia, of which it executes the decisions.

The registering a title to property or a mortgage is called *Intabulatio* ; the striking out a mortgage is called *extabulatio*.

In order to register the mortgages on houses in large towns, there is in each town an office called *tabula civica*, which only registers according to the magistrates' decision.

The small towns, villages, and burghs have no registrars of property or mortgage.

PENAL JUSTICE.—The Penal Code of 1803, compulsory for all the Austrian States, excepting Hungary, is divided into two parts : the first part treats of crimes, the second of serious police transgressions, *Schwere polizei ubertretungen*.

The punishment of death is awarded for several crimes, and is practised by the gallows.

The punishment of imprisonment is di-

vided into three degrees, namely, *carcer*, *carcer durus*, *carcer durissimus*. Those condemned to the third degree are subject to corporeal punishment, which is executed with a cane, called stock, for men, and with a rod for women. This punishment is administered once or twice a week on the naked back during the whole period of imprisonment, or until death. Generally the persons condemned to this kind of punishment die after a few months suffering.

The persons condemned for political offences are sent to Spielberg or Kufstein, where they are condemned to forced labour under ground.

The victims who groan in the dungeons of Spielberg or Kufstein are more to be pitied than the Siberian exiles.

All persons having any knowledge of political crimes against the safety of the state,

that is to say of the Kaiser, are obliged, under penalty of being accused of complicity, to denounce them to the government. This law obliges children to denounce their parents, and parents their children.

Penal procedure is very expeditious in Austria. The process of investigation is called inquisition.

This inquisition is made by a copyist and a judge who dictates to the former the interrogatories put to the accused, and his answers : the inquisitor exercises here the functions of accuser, defender, and judge of the accused.

After the complete inquisition and instruction of the case the judge-inquisitor makes his report in session, composed of three, five, or seven judges, and the accused is either condemned, acquitted, or liberated for want of legitimate proof : the judgment

is thereupon read to the accused and executed if he declare himself satisfied, or sent to the court of appeal for approbation if he desire it. All intervention of a third party, all communication with a lawyer or with the father, mother, or child of the accused, is severely forbidden.

Excepting the accused and the judges no one is allowed either to know the answers of the accused, the depositions of the witnesses, or the motives of judgment.

All is done with the greatest secrecy.

For the inquiry into, and judgment of political offences in Gallicia, the Kaiser nominates, and sends to Leopold, a commission, composed of three thorough-bred, faithful Germans, from Vienna.

This commission proceeds, and judges according to the instructions and secret

orders it receives and according to the penal code.

Torture is abolished, but the judge is authorised, to administer to the accused, during the enquiry, blows of the stock, and every time that the accused refuses to answer, and that he does not answer the question clearly and in a direct manner, or that he denies having committed the crime without being able to do away with the suspicion or semi-proof which the inquisitor considers to exist against him. More than twenty-five blows of the stock may not be administered at one time.

This mode of extorting a sincere confession from the accused, is applied in the enquiries of all crimes and serious police transgressions, and against all persons without distinction of birth, station, age, or sex.

All the Austrian nobility, M. Metternich

and Rothschild included, all bishops and priests, all general and military officers, all Austrian ambassadors, (Count Appony as a Hungarian excepted,) are subject, they, their children and their wives to the punishment of the stock or rod.

All Austrian subjects are equal before the law of the stock.

It is this law, this feeling of being subject to the punishment of the stock or rod, which deprives the Austrian of his man-like dignity, which renders him servile to the strong and insolent towards the poor and weak.

In 1135 some Polish Catholic priests were suspected of conspiring in favor of Polish nationality and of exciting their parishioners to love of their country. M. Mierzwinski, a Roman Catholic priest and canon, also Gubernial councillor for ecclesiastical affairs, cited these patriotic priests

before his tribunal and to extort the confession, which he wished to obtain, and which was to render him worthy of the confidence of his Kaiser, he administered to them blows of the stock.

The Austrian police often makes use of the Poles as spies upon the Poles.

Police informers were then initiated into the secrets of the police so that they may be more advantageously set upon the traces of the crime of love of country or humanity ; but at the same time the Austrian police is prudent and suspicious, it is also observed that those individuals, who are confidential agents of the police, after having fulfilled their service, generally die suddenly of some accident which is called, in Galicia. *Austrian accident*.

The traitor Mierzwinski was found dead in his rooms. The police spread the report

that he had poisoned himself ; the public said, on the contrary, that he had repented of what he had done, that the Austrian government was afraid of the consequences of his repentance and the betrayal of the secrets of the police, of which he was the depository, and therefore caused him to be imprisoned.

This miserable deacon was my chief, during two months in 1822, in the office of ecclesiastical affairs.

The Austrian government is partial to Polish, Hungarian, Italian, or Bohemian traitors, but it only confides in the thoroughbred Austrian Germans.

Many persons, whom the police suspects of patriotism or humanity without there being any proof, die suddenly either in their domicile, or in prison during the inquisition. The professor Huttner a German (not Aus-

rian) a distinguished divine, a friend of humanity and of oppressed Poland was suspected of liberatism.

The Baron Krieg, vice-president of the Gubernium, entered his apartments, seized all his papers, and some hours after Mr. Huttner was found dead, having perished by poison.

It has been observed that all the persons who show firmness of character during the inquisition, or any rooted principle, are never liberated, they always fall victims of an *Austrian accident*, either during the inquisition, or, after the condemnation, or die before the expiration of the punishment to which they have been condemned—such persons are too dangerous for the Austrian system.

There is attached to each circle a commissary of the circle especially charged with

the secret police, and he is in immediate correspondence, touching this office with the directors of police.

The circle and police magistrates have the right of administering blows of the stock to all servants, workmen, burghers, or peasants who have no real property, without any written inquest or judgment.

All the police and magisterial soldiers, all the lands-dragoons of the circles carry, to effect this object, canes attached to their cross belts.

There are no gendarmes in Austria; in their stead they have Lands-dragoons.

It is remarked that in Austria, and in all absolute governments there are fewer suicides than in England, France or any other free state.

The reason is, that one likes and prizes a thing much more, the [greater the trouble

and precautions necessary in acquiring and preserving it — the slaves believe that life must be a very valuable gift, since so much trouble and precaution is required to save it from the police ; and since their master looks upon the right of taking their lives, and beating them, as constituting a degree of power, dignity, and consequent felicity, which they could on no consideration be induced to forego.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES.

FUNCTIONARIES and public agents are divided into three very distinct classes.

Firstly, they are paid out of the Kaiser's treasury.

They hold the first rank, and have a right to add to their rank the epithet of Kaiserial, Royal, (Royal, Kaiserial Commis-

sary). Secondly, the Urban, or civic functionaries, who are paid from the town treasury. And Thirdly, the Dominical functionaries, who are hired and paid by the Lords.

The Kaiserial functionaries, are either appointed by the Kaiser himself, or by the Royal Kaiserial administration.

Both have fixed salaries and retiring pensions.

The Dominical functionaries are examined and furnished with certificates of qualification by the Gubernium, or Court of Appeal, but they have no fixed salaries or retiring pensions.

In Russia, functions and rank are granted to German foreigners in preference to natives ; to obtain a situation, or become an officer in the army, a Russian by birth and origin

must prove that he is noble. The Germans are exempt from this.

It is the contrary in Austria. In order to obtain a situation as public functionary it is necessary for a candidate to prove, by certificates, that he is by birth an Austrian subject ; has frequented all the classes of some public school in Austria ; does not belong to any secret society ; and will denounce to the government all that he believes will be hurtful and dangerous to it.

Those persons who have gone through their German classes and their studies in the houses of their parents, or in a school with private professors, are not admitted to public situations.

In general the Germans have the preference, and to them are exclusively entrusted the functions of Presidents, Directors, and Chiefs of offices.

With the exception of those who copy, and are called *Chancellorists*, the *Archivists*, and the functionaries of the treasury, all other situations about the courts, civil, or criminal, of the circles, Gubernium, and civic magistracies, can only be granted to persons who have gone through a course of law at one of the German-Austrian Universities.

All newly appointed functionaries are obliged to work gratuitously for three, four, or six years ; and it is only at the expiration of this gratuitous service that they receive salaries of 200 or 300 florins a year ; notwithstanding these exactions and the difficulties of all kinds that they experience at the university, there are a great number of jurisconsults who work gratuitously for from four to six years in order to gain a salary of 300 florins annually.

The reason is that the arts, trades, and

industry in general are despised, that workmen and labourers and all those who occupy themselves with manual labour, are subject to blows of the stock at every hand's turn ; and that there are in Austrian Poland, neither manufacturers nor wholesale traders. Offices and rank are granted in the civil, military and spiritual armies without any attention to either nobility or obscurity of birth or fortune, the personal qualification of the candidates being only regarded.

The greater part of the high functionaries are of low origin, or of the poorest and lowest German nobility ; the public employés take oath not to reveal anything of what they may learn by virtue of their office.

This silence is so universal and rigorous that a copyist, an archivist, a secretary or councillor may not reveal anything of what

he copies, reads, or writes, to his colleagues in the same office.

The salaries of the principal functionaries are as follows.

The Governor of Galicia receives yearly from the Kaiser, sixteen thousand florins, and four thousand florins from the Diet, in all twenty thousand florins. The three presidents of the noble-courts and of the court of appeal, each six thousand florins per annum. The ten councillors of Gubernium, the nineteen captains of circles, (prefects) and the nine councillors of the court of appeal, three thousand florins each.

The councillors of the three noble-courts each two thousand florins, and the Aulic councillors of the Gubernium four thousand florins.

There are sometimes two Aulic councillors in Gallicia.

The secretaries of the Gubernium, of the noble-court and courts of appeal, and the councillors of criminal courts, each twelve hundred florins yearly.

The commissaries of circles, cashiers and officers of the treasury and public accounts, (Buchhaltung) each from eight hundred to one thousand florins.

The copyists, archivists, *concupists*, (editors) burgomasters, have yearly from two hundred to six hundred florins.

A florin is worth about two shillings.

The imperial and civic functionaries, who have a right to a retiring pension, are obliged to serve without interruption as long as their health allows.

If after ten years they are capable of continuing in the service, they have a

right to a third, after twenty-five years they are entitled to half, and after forty years to the whole of their previous salary. If they become incapable in the course of the fortieth year of their service they are granted three fourths of their salary.

Two salaried situations are incompatible. The functionary who should be called upon to fill another, would only receive salary from the highest paid.

At the death of a functionary his widow, having proved that she possesses no fortune, has a right to a quarter, and the legitimate children, without distinction as to number, a fourth part of their father's last salary.

The children only enjoy this pension when boys, up to the age of fourteen, and when girls till fifteen years of age. The

widow as long as she remains a widow and resides in Austria.

The granting of pensions to widows and children only applies to functionaries whose salary does not exceed two thousand florins yearly.

It is forbidden the imperial and civic functionaries, or their wives, to carry on any lucrative trade or business.

This has lately been modified with respect to women. Vexality and corruption prevail to the highest degree amongst the imperial and civic functionaries. Metternich himself was in the pay of the Czar Alexander, who paid him, it is said, a million roubles annually.

This pension ceased on the death of Alexander in 1825.

It is forbidden the public functionaries to receive money or presents for fulfilling

or exercising their functions, but this law is illusory because it is forbidden individuals, under criminal penalties, and condemnation to *carcere duro*, to corrupt government functionaries.

The individual who should accuse the functionary of having drawn money from him would be the first condemned to ten years *carcere duro*. The functionary, if he were sufficiently simple to confess his crime, would be dismissed from his situation. But woe to the individual who should accuse a functionary without having sufficient proofs to support his accusation.

His property would be confiscated, and himself, with all his family, ruined.

A blind obedience is required to the commands of a public officer, and it is only after having executed his orders that any right exists to complain to his superiors.

A functionary can never be accused before a court or criminal tribunal respecting any exercise of his functions.

The complaint must be made to his superior.

Councillors and German Barons may be seen who have only their salary ; or Burgo-masters who have only 400 or 500 florins a year—who entered office in rags, and bare-footed, or who have come to Poland, from the interior of Germany, on foot, dragging their children, baggage, and potatoes in a wheelbarrow — become rich, at the expiration of ten or fifteen years of their office, keeping lacqueys and equipages and owning villages.

The Austrian functionaries allow themselves to be corrupted with greater facility than even the Russian functionaries. There exists indeed this difference between them,

that the Russian functionary allows himself to be bribed to the prejudice of his Czar, but having received the bribe, keeps his promise, fearing the accusation; whereas the Austrian functionary, takes anything or from any body, indeed bargains with the parties interested to bribe him, and does not keep his word.

He always does what the interest of his Kaiser requires and only acts against the befehl to the injury of individuals.

The reason is, because the Austrian functionaries are protected in all their rogueries against individuals, and are severely punished for any fault which may injure the Kaisers. The administration and control of the Kaiserial revenue are so well organized that it is impossible to cheat the Kaiser out of one single farthing, without its being discovered.

In order, however to palliate his avarice, the Kaiser spreads the report that the functionaries reckon farthings and rob millions.

In general the functionaries are chosen from the poorer classes, because these being drawn from obscurity, and elevated to the dignity of salaried functionaries, are more grateful, submissive, and less independent than the rich.

They are proportionately more attached to the existence of government, as their own existence depends upon it.

Nearly all the presidents, Aulic councillors, etc., etc., are of the lowest class of citizens, or nobles, and only live on their salary.

These functionaries hate the rich, despise the poor, and have neither pity for one nor the other.

This is what is required by an administration of plunder and rapine.

It is from this said motive that the Austrian functionaries are forbidden to exercise any lucrative profession or trade. In Austria there is no Aristocracy that can properly be so called. At present it is Metternich, Schwarzenberg, Lichtenstein and a few others, who are the Kaiser's principal instruments, but at their death their children may be nothing more than beggars.

The Kaisers never grant the powerful amongst the natives, high situations, always fearing another Wallenstein. The Grand Vizier of the empire is always drawn from a poor and obscure German family.

The present Grand Chancellor is a German of Westphalia, named Ochsenhausen.

The Kaiser Francis created him Prince Metternich and the mercenary German

papers publish everywhere that Metternich is of an ancient princely family.

The governors of provinces are generally poor nobles possessing no landed or real property in the country. The German Barons, drawn from a state of mendicity, willingly lend themselves to the plunder of the middling classes by the government.

They cannot bear that a citizen, a simple, Polish gentleman, should be better lodged, dressed, or live better than they. Baron Kreig, ci-devant Aulic councillor, and actually vice-governor of Gallicia, perceived, when walking in the neighbourhood of Leopold, in a fine garden, a handsome country house, the open windows of which allowed the furniture within to be seen.

He asked who was the proprietor, and learnt, to his great astonishment, that it belonged to a baker of Leopold.

“What!” he exclaimed one day at the Gubernium sitting, when I was present, “people complain of the heaviness of the taxes, and I have seen a baker better lodged than I, Baron of the German Empire, and Royal Kaiseral Aulic councillor.” The tax on the baker’s patent was doubled and trebled, and he was ruined at the expiration of a short time.

The scarcity of money and the general misery of the people, enable a functionary with thirty-five pounds salary to be better lodged and fed, than a nobleman who has a village with five or six thousand acres of land, and fifty or sixty families of peasants subject to forced labour.

In order not to awaken the jealousy and hatred of the nobility and burghers against the paternal government, it is recommended

to the functionaries, by a written befehl, known only by themselves, not to live extravagantly, and above all not to keep carriages or horses. It is not, however, to be supposed that strangers who live in hotels can live cheaply, on the contrary everything is dearer than in France or England, because the proprietors of inns pay to the Kaiser as taxes for patents, etc., etc., more than sixty-five per cent.

Travellers are obliged to make a written compact on stamped paper as to prices, and present it to the Burgomaster.

The befehl which forbids extravagance to the functionaries is not applicable to the governor, generally called Satrap: he, on the contrary, displays much luxury in order to seduce and ruin the Polish noblemen. Prince Lobkowitz never drove out unless

preceded by two fat, German runners furnished with great sticks to make the passers-by uncover, and strike those who should not present themselves in respectful attitude.

CHAPTER IX.

THE Austrian army is recruited by conscription. To this effect Austrian Poland is divided into twelve districts. On the second of January every year a Military commission, composed of two subaltern officers and three or four corporals or soldiers, as writers, appears at the chief

town, burgh, or village of their district, and having invited to its assistance the clergyman of a place as well as the Burgomaster and the representative of the seignorial proprietor, it proceeds to the conscription.

The clergyman is obliged to carry with him the register of births, deaths, or marriages.

All male individuals from the age of seventeen and upwards are obliged to present themselves in person before the commission.

The father of the family must appear to declare the changes which have taken place in his family since the preceding year, the proprietor to give an account of his tenants. All individuals fitted for military service are designated in a column of the conscription-books.

The military commission also takes notice

in its books of the number of cattle possessed by each inhabitant.

The officer of the military district sends a copy of this census to the circle and makes a report to the commanding general at Leopold.

The circle again makes its report to the Gubernium which distributes the recruits by circles, and orders and fixes the night for seizing the recruits which is the same for the whole province.

The circles make the re-partition of the recruits by towns and villages, and orders the Burgomasters and dominical jurisdictions to commence on the night fixed by the Gubernium. All these orders are transmitted with the greatest secrecy.

The evening of the night fixed upon, the Burgomasters and Lords summon all the

police agents, spies, employés, Police soldiers and often soldiers of the regular army, and at midnight, when everybody is asleep, the recruiters, divided into several bands, disperse, surround the houses, and break open the doors, and if they are not directly opened, carry away the men discovered, tie them with cords and bear them off to prison.

The recruiters are furnished with sledge hammers to break open the doors, with bludgeons to strike their prey if it should make any resistance or attempt to defend itself. According to the *befehl* or command of 1828 only the men of from ten to thirty are subject to the military service in a time of peace. During a period of war men are drawn up to the age of fifty years. The victims are carried to the office of the circle, where a mixed commission, composed

of a commissary of the circle, two military officers and a doctor of the regiment, measure, examine and only select the finest, most robust and youngest. Notwithstanding that the number of recruits is fixed, the Burgomasters and Lords are obliged to present before the commission all married or unmarried men up to the age of 30 years, because the commission has a right to choose and they cannot know beforehand how many will buy themselves out of the service, for it is permitted in time of peace to pay 300 florins (30£.) to the Kaiser, who alone has the right to find substitutes, which he does by impressing other young men who cannot pay the ransom money. The right of carrying off the recruits is truly a St. Bartholomew's night.

During days succeeding this night nothing

is heard in the houses, streets, and roads but the sobs and lamentations of mothers, fathers, wives, and children, who follow in cars the Imperial Sbriri who are leading away their children, husbands, and fathers. Their lamentations are not surprising—the conscripts are then carried into a foreign country. into Germany, Italy, or Hungary.

They are subjected to a barbarous discipline, and ill-treated by the German officers and corporals whose language they do not understand.

The German language is the language of military command, for the whole army composed of eleven-twelfths of Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, etc., etc., and one-twelfth Germans.

It is during the levying recruits that the Austrian functionaries take advantage, on their own account, of the inhabitants who

cannot pay the Kaiser the ransom of three hundred florins.

The unfortunate wretches are drawn every year, from the age of eighteen up to thirty years, and each time these functionaries make them pay a certain sum. So that at the age of twenty-nine years they have paid, at different periods, more than twice three hundred florins, are ruined, and not being able to pay any longer, at the age of twenty-nine years they are carried away and delivered over to the military service.

It is also during the levying recruits that the authorities of the Circle, the Burgo-master, and lords exercise their acts of intimidation or vengeance upon the burghers or peasants.

The Lords and Burgomasters who cannot catch or furnish their contingents are punished by heavy fines—the nobles and

German colonists are exempted from forced military service through political motives.

The conscription is the most effectual mode of insensibly doing away with the Polish people and supplanting it by Germans.

Austrian Poland furnishes five times more soldiers than the Austriaco German provinces.

According to the Augsburg gazette of the month of May 1845, Austrian Poland furnishes 13,956 recruits in the year 1845. Whereas the German Provinces only furnish 5,898 men.

The German provinces have a population of more than seven millions, and the aboriginal population of Austrian Poland which alone furnishes recruits does not amount to more than three millions and a half, because the numerous German

colonists are exempted from military service, and the three hundred thousand German Israelites pay ransom or invade the service by voluntarily maiming themselves.

They pull out their front teeth, cut off their fingers, or lame their feet. It often happens that mothers maim their children shortly after their birth by twisting their arms or feet.

The duration of the military service was formerly for life, for the Hungarian regiments, and fifteen years for the Poles and others. Since 1845 the period is shortened to eight or ten years, but as the Austrian soldiers, called Landsknechts, have no knowledge of the fact, no right to complain against the government and as there are no independent journals, the government only dismisses the landsknechts, who are no longer fit for service and makes the others serve as long as it likes,

because, in Austria, law is the Emperor's will, and the officers or functionaries are the only legal interpreters of it.

The military punishments are, 1stly, blows with the stock upon the back ; 2ndly, beating on the bare back ; and 3rdly death.

The lieutenant has a right to administer to the soldier Landsknecht for the slightest insubordination, and without any sentence, twenty-five blows of the stock, or cane, given by a single corporal.

The captain has a right to administer thirty blows of the stock by two corporals, and in presence of the company.

The punishment takes place in the middle of a public place during market or fair time, and with a prescribed ceremony.

Firstly, the culprit carries the bench himself, places himself before the company,

and lays himself on this bench at the command of the officer.

Secondly, two corporals are ordered out of the ranks, and place themselves one to the right, and one to the left of the extended landsknecht.

They examine whether his thighs are covered with anything more than drawers, and proceed to execution. At the word of command, the corporal at the left of the criminal strikes the first blow, and one or two minutes after the corporal on the right, alternately ; after each blow they wait at least a minute or two, in order that the culprit may have time to feel and suffer, and that the thighs may swell and bleed ; the officers of the company superintend the execution, and cry, strike well. (hau zu) The execution lasts about three quarters of an hour.

After the twentieth blow strips of the drawers and thighs are often seen to fall. Formerly they struck on the cloth trowsers, that the soldiers wear, but the Kaiser Francis, called by the Germans the father of his country, (Landesvater), ordered them to strike on the drawers by way of "economising the trowsers, and that the blows should be better felt."

Public decency will not allow them to strike on the naked back.

The unfortunates generally put a piece of linen into their mouths, otherwise the convulsive motion of the jaws, and the grinding of the teeth, makes them bite their tongues and break their teeth.

The punishment once pronounced is never rescinded.

The Germans are cold and inexorable. If sometimes the criminal expires before the

last blow, they continue to strike the body until the number of blows prescribed are given.

The Austrian system exacts this severity.

After the execution the punished individual rises, drags himself to the commanding officer, bows himself to the ground, thanking him in these words : receive thanks, (*habe dank*) — he then takes the bench on his shoulders and carries it back. All punishments take place publicly to intimidate the people.

The Poles and Jews cannot bear these Germanic cruelties, they fly and avoid the hideous and painful sight, the Germans alone remain, and say—it is only a Polish swine that they are flogging (*Polnishes schwein*).

In the time of the Polish republic there were only two sorts of punishment ; namely, imprisonment and death. Flogging was re-

garded as infamous and dishonorable for the defenders of their country.

The Kaiser, on the contrary, looks upon and treats the military defenders of his treasures and his throne like mercenary sbirri and like brigands. At the commencement of the Austrian Invasion, the Polish conscripts to whom they were about to administer the bastinado revolted and threatened to turn their bayonets against the invaders. To calm and habituate them to this degrading mode of punishment, and to induce them by example to submit ; they commenced by administering the blows of the stock to the soldiers of German birth and origin. At the command of the officer the German Landsknecht takes charge of the bench, lays down, suffers, rises. bows, thanks, (*habe dank*), and retires.

“ There,” said the Germans to the Poles, showing them the submissiveness of these heavy landsknechts to the punishment, “ that is the high Austrian civilization, which consists in knowing how to obey the befehls of superiors.”

The bastinade in the sequel pleased the Polish nobles very much, and since then they make use of it against the peasants, “ to civilize them after the Austrian fashion.” Desertion and other serious offences are punished by running the gauntlet. The soldier condemned by a court martial to this punishment is stripped to the hips, and compelled to pass and repass ten, fifteen, twenty, or thirty times, through one or several Battalions of Infantry, ranged in two lines face to face ; the space between the two lines is three or four paces broad. Each sol-

dier, furnished with a willow stick, strikes the culprit as he passes, with his whole might, on the bare back.

As a precautionary measure the soldiers are furnished with several sticks in case of their breaking. If the unfortunate faints and cannot any longer proceed, he is then laid on a bench, and the soldiers passing and repassing at the ordinary step strike him as he lies.

If he dies under the blows, which often happens, (as I personally witnessed in 1808 and 1809) they strike the body until the number of blows are completed.

After passing a few times the length of a battalion, composed of from eight hundred to a thousand men, the flesh of the back falls off in pieces and very often the entrails protrude through the lacerated sides.

During the execution, the colonel and

major, both on horseback, ride along the two lines betwixt which the criminal is passing, and cry aloud, "Strike well!" (hau zu). The soldiers who miss a blow or do not strike with all their strength, themselves receive the bastinado.

This punishment of running the gauntlet called in German, Spitzruthen, is particularly painful and dangerous to life in winter, with the temperament ten, fifteen, or twenty degrees below freezing point, because then the blood with which the sticks become covered coagulates on them and makes them hard and cutting as glass.

The Austrian government thinks itself peculiarly bound to apply barbarous and cruel punishment to the Hungarians and Poles, because desertion amongst them is more frequent.

Many of these unfortunates are married

and fathers of several children, without fortune or resources. The regimental chaplain and the Catholic and A Catholic priests in general teach the people and soldiers from the pulpit and confessional, that devotion to the Kaiser is the first and most sacred duty ; that the Kaiser is and ought to be loved more than one's parents or country.

The priests say "look at the French nobles who do not hesitate to fight in our ranks or at the head of our Landsknechts against their country or countrymen to establish the throne of the King," but notwithstanding these exhortations, notwithstanding the seducing example of the French Royalist, and promises of Paradise after death, neither the people nor soldiery can understand in their virtuous Anti-Austrian and Anti-Catholic simplicity why they should expose to misery or death

their unprovided wives and children, and fly to the defence of a throne and treasure whose ruin neither menaces humanity, their country, nor the life of their dear Kaiser.

There are even moreover amongst the Poles and Hungarians some who contend that this throne and treasure, which religion calls upon them to defend, are the cause and source of all human calamities.

The punishment of death is executed by hangings for civil, and by shooting for military crimes. Three soldiers fire close and simultaneously at the breast and head.

Repeated desertion even in time of peace is punished by death.

The body is not interred directly after the execution, but it is left hanging to the gallows or stretched on the earth until sunset, in order that the public may contem-

plate it and be edified by the sight. A single soldier or sentinel is left to guard it.

In 1808 or 1809 I saw a Hungarian woman who came from the interior of Hungary with her three children, the eldest of whom might be six or seven years of age and the youngest still at the breast, four or five month sold. This unfortunate woman hoped by her presence to soften Austrian cruelty, excite the pity and obtain the pardon of her husband a deserter, but she was mistaken, he had been shot, she threw herself on the still warm body of her husband, filled the air with her cries, called him by his name. "Paul dear Paul!" shook the body and opened its mouth thinking to awaken and recal it to life.

Two or three hours after she expired, her lips glued or rather frozen to the mouth of her husband.

The child at the breast followed the fate of its mother.

On that day the snow fell in such abundance that the three bodies were quite covered towards two o'clock in the afternoon. Nobody dare assist the wife or children of the criminal—every one being afraid of drawing down the ire of the paternal government—“let justice be done,” say the Austrians, “though the world perish.”

The German population of the Austrian empire is as compared to the rest of the population as one to six, and the number of German to Sclavonian, Hungarian, or Italian officers, as six to two.

The Germanised Hungarians, Italians, and Poles surpass by far the Germans in baseness and cruelty. According to the Austrian system the German provinces fur-

nish corporals and officers, the other provinces soldiers.

The Hungarian regiments are quartered in Poland and Italy, the Polish regiments in Hungary and Italy, the Italian regiments in Hungary and Poland, the German officers and corporals are everywhere.

The Kaiser does not only make use of military force to defend his throne, his possessions, or to conquer fresh countries, but he trades with it, and lets out his armies to foreign powers.

Thus the Kaiser Maximilian lent an army to England in 1513, in consideration of 500 crowns a day.

The Kaiser Francis let his troops also to England, from 1793 to 1815 against France, in consideration of several millions sterling but the lease was made out in the form of an alliance and the mercenary troops of

Austria fought under the denomination of auxiliaries or their allies. From hiring out their troops the emperors derived a double profit. They firstly filled their coffers with the gold which they make the employers of their troops pay, and which they do not spend as they only disburse paper money which they furthermore reduce from time to time. Besides this they rid themselves of the surplus Hungarian, Italian and Slavonian population. There are in Austrian Poland but few barracks. At Leopold there is only one with which the generous Kaiser has endowed the town by transforming an ancient convent into barracks which may contain about a thousand Infantry soldiers—at Wadowice a fresh one has been built which may contain a few squadrons of cavalry.

The soldiers are mostly quartered on the inhabitants who are obliged to give them a bed, salt, and fire; they are not

obliged (by a befehl) to feed them, but they do so to make them more tractable and less cruel.

The Austrian soldiers, without regard to the country to which they belong, call themselves children of the Kaiser, they look upon the Poles as conquered slaves, illtreating and robbing them with impunity. Agreeably to the existing befehls the complaint must be made to the corporal against the private, to the serjeant-major (or field-febel) against the corporal, before the lieutenant against the serjeant-major and so following ; but as the army is a privileged body, those that complain obtain no justice and only expose themselves to the brutality of the soldiery.

The befehl orders that those on whom the soldiers are quartered should receive a kreutzer (four centimes) a day for each soldier

but this compensation called (*schlaf kreutzer*) is hardly ever paid.

The captain of the company, the Burgo-master, and the other employés, divide it amongst them.

The Infantry soldier receives in Gallicia four kreutzers per day, the corporal eight kreutzers, the sub-lieutenant two hundred florins a year, the lieutenant three hundred florins, the captain eight hundred florins, the colonel three thousand florins, and the generals four, five, and six thousand florins a year. Military honours are only rendered in Austria to military persons—Count Ankiewicz, a Germanised, Polish, renegade, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Gallicia and *Primas Regni*, demanded of the military authorities a guard of honor, it was refused him and the general commanding

facetiously remarked that it would be much more becoming to place before the Archiepiscopal Palace, a priest with a crucifix than a soldier with a musket.

The French army is more Catholic. I see with pleasure a sentry mounting guard before the Archiepiscopal Palace of Bordeaux.

In general the Germans do not like the Poles but they fear them on account of their intrepidity and bravery. An example will strengthen this assertion.

In 1840 a Pole challenged M. Gerstner, lieutenant in the Regiment of Coburg Lancers. As duels are prohibited in Austria M. Gerstner denounced the challenger to the military authorities of Saatz, in Bohemia.

The Pole was thereupon seized, loaded with chains on the hands and feet, and car-

ried before a court martial. As soon as M. Gerstner entered the Hall of the Tribunal. and that he perceived his Polish challenger bound, he drew his sword, first cut his arms, by way of precaution, and then hacked his face in presence of the military council, and after this *duel* withdrew.

The German gazette of Augsburg, of the 17th of June 1840, No. 169, in announcing this fact, adds, that M. Gerstner took flight.

Knowing the administration of justice in Austria, I can affirm that the mutilated Pole, if he survived this combat, will have been condemned to forced labour in a fortress, and will have been left the right of judicially prosecuting M. Gerstner, who is most probably secretly transferred to another regiment garrisoned, either in Hungary or Italy.

The Austrian Censorship suppresses the numbers of the foreign journals that contain such statements.

The inhabitants of Austria have no knowledge of the military exploit of the Baron Gerstner.

To compensate for the loss of the Battle of the Bridge of Arcola, Austria allowed the French Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Rastadt to be pillaged and murdered on the 28th of April 1799.

The Austrian cavalry, commanded by a Colonel, surprised, within a short distance of Rastadt, the carriages in which the three French plenipotentiaries with their wives and children were, he attacked them. Mr. Bonnier and Roberjeot had their throats cut, Mr. Jean Debry was wounded. France lost this battle, firstly, because the three French

men, their wives and children, were surprised in their carriages, and that the number of hazards was a hundred to one.

Formerly the German soldiers were called Kands-knecht, a German word which signifies, servants of the country, but since a short time the government orders them to be called *soldaten*, a term borrowed from the French language and transposed fresh into the German vocabulary : in the singular, the soldier in German is called *soldat*.

The person of the soldier on duty is sacred and inviolable, passers by are obliged to uncover before a sentinel, to obey without hesitating, his orders on pain of being shot or killed by the bayonet. The sentinel is thus made your absolute master--your judge and executioner, from whom there is no appeal. Woe betide you therefore if you pass alone before a sentinel whom you have offended.

He kills you, and says afterwards that you were wanting in respect towards him. Such sanguinary occurrences happen often in Gallicia, but it is forbidden to speak about or publish them in the newspapers—they happen even sometimes at Vienna. According to the Augsburg Universal Gazette of the 16th of Feb. last, No 47 ; the Austrian sentinels have killed by gun shot wounds, in a short space of time, five persons who passed them smoking cigars.

Every regiment has its chaplain, and all the soldiers assist every Sunday at mass, after which they are exhorted to remain true to their faith. The soldiers are very religious, they go to mass when they are ordered, and remain away when they are not ; the Kaiser fears fanaticism as much as the light of reason. The Austrians say that

a soldier who is a bigot, and who has more faith in the cross than in his gun or sword is a coward, and unworthy of the name of Austrian soldier.

CHAPTER X.

FINANCES. TAXES.

THE principles of the Austrian financial administration are those natural to the illegitimate proprietors of capital in all branches of industry ; viz. to draw the greatest revenue at the least possible cost.

The Kaisers only differ from the highway-

men in leaving life to their subjects after having plundered them ; because not fearing, like ordinary rogues, to be seized and brought to trial. They besides preserve the lives of their victims to augment their treasures, because only acknowledging the supreme tribunal of God, to which all Despots by the Grace of God must assume submission.

With regard to wealth, the Kaiser well deserves the title of the modern Cræsus. He is the richest, and, at the same time, the most avaricious sovereign in the world. He personally holds the keys of the strong places in which his treasures are deposited, and knows better than any banker the art of book-keeping by double entry. By means of his paper money and extortions the Kaiser has exchanged and amassed in his coffers all the gold and silver of his private

subjects, the churches, parishes, and communities of his empire.

The Kaiser is the first banker.

The empire is his property, and he is the absolute and exclusive master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. The Sovereigns of Austria assume the title of Kaiser in Germany, because in the German version of the gospel it is said : Give unto the Kaiser that which is Kaiser's (Gebt dem Kaiser was des Kaisers ist.) In Poland they arrogate the style of Cesar because in the Polish version of the gospel it is said : Give unto Caesar that which is Cæsar's. *Oddajcie Cesarzowi co jest Cesarzkiego.* All the clergy of the empire are ordered to remind the people at least once a month to render up to the Kaiser all money, because all money belongs to the Kaiser by order of God.

All that the subjects pay, or are liable to pay, they are supposed to owe to the government or state. "It is not to me that you pay," says the Kaiser to his subjects "it is to the government." On the contrary, if the government has to disburse the pay of soldiers, clergy, public functionaries, etc., etc., the Kaiser is supposed to expend out of his private purse.

"It is to the Kaiser you owe obedience and fidelity, because he pays," is continually repeated by their agents of all descriptions.

The pecuniary relief which France affords to the unfortunates who have suffered inundations, hail, or fire, are unknown in Austria. Everything is owing the Kaiser or his government, but the government is not supposed to owe anything to any human being.

In rare and extraordinary cases of great and afflicting calamity, by which thousands

are reduced to beggary, the Kaiser opens his purse and gives one or two hundred florins in paper money. It is severely forbidden, and is a crime provided for by the penal code, to subscribe without the permission of the Kaiser, for the relief of misfortunes occurring in foreign countries. On the occasion of the great fire at Hamburg, the Kaiser allowed a collection to be made throughout the whole empire, which produced, inclusive of the Imperial donation, nine or ten thousand florins (800£). The Austrians are not even generous to their countrymen.

France, a strange country, subscribed more than 400,000 francs, (about 16,000£)

It is forbidden and punished as a crime by confiscation to play in foreign lotteries ; on the other hand, it is permitted to make lotteries of estates and houses. It is allowed to value them at three or four times

their real worth, and to sell the tickets in foreign countries, particularly in France, where the inhabitants are fond of gaming, because, besides the money which comes from abroad for the sale of the tickets, the proprietors of the estates which are put up to lottery are obliged to pay to the Kaiser beforehand ten per cent of the estimated price under the name of Regalia.

The Kaisers and Austrian Princes never travel abroad, or if their policy obliges them to travel they then do so incognito, bearing the title of some poor baron to save expence.

In the interior of their empire they never give anything to their poor or to the church.

To recompense their faithful servants, they award them honorary titles and orders, but never estates, pensions, nor even so much as gold snuff boxes.

These honorary titles of nobility, these orders are indeed very often given merely for the sake of the fees which they entail. Hungarians, Italians, and Poles are called to Vienna by the Court to make them spend their property, and render them a prey to hungry German Barons.

Austrian nobles are not allowed to travel abroad, to prevent the exportation of their money ; on the other hand, permission is given to beggars and poor workmen to travel, that they may bring back money to Austria.

In Paris alone there are 50,000 poor Germans, and there are not 50,000 poor Frenchmen in the whole of the Austrian Empire.

Whilst the Germans at Paris are at the charge of the French Nation and government, it is reckoned that Austria derives a revenue of several millions a year from the

Duke of Bordeaux, his court, and the French legitimatists. These are the refugees to whom the Kaisers delight to offer hospitality.

After the insurrection in Poland of 1830 the Kaiser received in his empire the Polish refugees. He allowed officers 40 kreutzers a day, (1s 4*d*) but at the same time he lodged them at the Barracks of Brun, 15 and 20 men in a room, made them sleep in beds of private soldiers, and withheld for this lodging 15 kreutzers (6*d*) a day per head, so that the officers were supposed to receive 40 kreutzers, but did in reality only receive 25 kreutzers a day. It was forbidden to receive and lodge them in the town.

The sources of revenue of the Austrian government are of five different kinds :

1stly, Direct taxation ; 2ndly, Indirect

taxation ; 3rdly, Royal tax called Regalia ; 4thly, Domaines ; 5thly, Monopolies.

By direct taxation in Austria is understood (a) the funded tax of houses and lands ; (b) the Dominical, or Seigniorial tax.

Since 1818 the land tax is established according to the register of estates, taken in the reign of Joseph II, in 1787, and verified in 1817.

This register was taken and verified by the parishes themselves. In each parish six peasants or burghers were sworn, together with the clergyman and Burgomaster, or lord of the manor, and two persons as witnesses from the neighbouring parishes.

These people all worked, wrote and surveyed for the public good, and consequently gratis. This enregistration consequently costs the Emperor nothing, but it is very

inexact and in consequence greatly to the detriment of the contributors.

In Austria all inaccuracy on the part of public functionaries to the prejudice of the Kaiser is a crime ; and, besides cashiering, subjects them to other severe penalties, though all inaccuracy, prejudicial to subjects and in favour of the Kaiser, is looked upon as a proof of zeal and fidelity.

The engineers and commissioners who superintended, verified and rectified the operation of enregistering, in order not to commit any mistake to the prejudice of the Kaiser's interest, increased arbitrarily the result given by the surveyors relative to the quantity and quality of the lands.

The produce of the soil is taxed according to the prices of 1796, because corn was dearer then ; firstly, on account of

the war carried on against the French republic ; secondly, because there was more money in Austria and in Gallicia then than in 1811 or at the present period. Before the French revolution, paper money was unknown, and the churches, convents, and parishes were not quite pillaged.

Like Verrés in Sicily, the Kaiser in Poland in order to fix the tax takes the Hectolitre of corn three, four, or five times higher than what it sells for. The Poles subject to Austria pass their days, as formerly the Sicilians did, a prey to extortion, rapine and a variety of detestable iniquities ; the imperial extortioners generally sell the objects seized, such as cattle or corn at the tenth and even the twentieth of the enregistered price.

During my employment at Zloczow the cows seized were sold for a florin, which ordinarily fetched in the market

twelve or fifteen florins, and a Hectolitre of corn was sold for twenty kreutzers which was taxed by government at five florins (a florin contains sixty kreutzers).

The seigniorial tax is based on the census and declaration of 1775 and 1776.

The Austrian government in requiring these declarations informs the proprietors that it will only maintain the forced labour mentioned in its declaration, which are consequently made to the great prejudice of the peasants who are ground down by the Robot. The rate of the land tax is from eight to twelve per cent.

The free lands and those subject to forced labour, or tithe, or church rates, pay equally this tax without any deduction in valuing the net produce.

The rate of seigniorial taxation, under different names, varies between thirty and forty per cent. without counting the ex-

penses of dominical jurisdiction, which make it amount to more than 70.

The soi-disant Polish landlords have therefore the honour of being only executioners of the unfortunate Polish peasantry, and indeed of Poland, because all the moral, physical and political strength of Poland is the peasantry.

The Kaisers absorb, under different pretext, more than the value of the Robot. When the lordships are farmed, the farmer is obliged to pay to the Kaiser separately from two and a half to forty per cent. of the net revenue of the farm.

Under the head of indirect taxation is understood : 1stly, the custom houses, which are established on the Prussian, Russian Polish, and Hungarian frontiers.

Hungary is looked upon in relation to the other provinces as a foreign country ; less

attention is paid to it than to the other provinces, because it cannot make use of the right of reciprocity, or reprisals towards the other Austrian provinces. This right belongs only to its sovereign the Kaiser. 2ndly the Capitation tax, (*kopfsteuer*) all persons from the age of fifteen until seventy five pay yearly thirty kreutzers.

3rdly, A tax is paid on all that is eaten, drank, or burnt.

4thly. The Jewish tax (*judensteuer*) to which the Jews alone are subject, is raised on the meat and candles—and on the sabbath.

I remember, for instance, that a goose which is sold in Gallicia for fifteen kreutzers pays as Jewish tax ten kreutzers.

5thly. Class tax (*klassensteuer*). To this tax are subject all who follow a trade, who possess mills or manufactures, or follow

any branch of industry. All masters, professors, artists, farmers, and workmen, who gain annually above one hundred and twenty florins, (twelve pounds) pay yearly from two and a half to forty per cent : for instance, the person earning a hundred and twenty florins pays two and a half per cent, he who earns four hundred florins pays five per cent, and in the same ratio up to sixteen thousand florins yearly, which pays forty per cent.

6thly. The house tax, which pays in the villages at the rate of forty kreutzers per cottage, and in the towns according to the rent ; for this end every landlord is obliged to make a written contract with his tenant on stamped paper and to present it to the Burgomaster to be registered. The lodgings of the landlord are taxed as if he was tenant—every evasion of this law is pun-

ished by a fine of twenty times the annual rent.

7thly. Tolls on roads, aqueducts, and bridges. Every two leagues there is a wooden turnpike, and a farmer's cottage across the road. All roads leading to and from towns are furnished with barriers, and payment must be made both on entering and leaving.

At Leopold a drive outside the barrier, in a carriage drawn by two horses, costs twenty kreutzers, and there is neither bridge nor aqueduct to cross.

France, which has no tolls on roads, ought to submit all Austrian subjects, and all Austrian merchandise, on their entry into France, to an indemnity for the roads by the right of reciprocity. The tolls and reparations of roads are farmed by Jews or Germans who ill-treat and extort from travellers in all possible ways.

They are often obliged, and in particular on winter nights, to wait two or four hours before the turnpike is opened, every traveller is obliged to show the farmer the toll receipt of the preceding tollgate, or to pay, as fine, twenty times the amount of the toll.

8th. Military quartering tax, (*Militar-quartier-geld*) is levied on all cottages and houses.

Royal taxes, (Regalia), in this category enter—1stly, Stamps. All documents proving an obligation contracted or acquitted. All petitions to tribunals, offices, magistrates, functionaries, or the Kaiser. must be written on stamped paper.

The stamps for documents is from three kreutzers to one hundred florins, according to their value, from two florins up to one

hundred thousand and above. 2dly, postage of letters.

The conveyance of letters costs the government nothing ; the postmasters have charged themselves with it gratis, in consideration of the exclusive privilege which they possess of conveying travellers and of being paid according to the privileged tariff.

The postmasters are however only allowed to let out horses without carriages.

3rdly, Conferring nobility, titles, dignities, and orders. The title of knight pays five thousand florins, of count, fifteen thousand, of prince, twenty five thousand florins tax, without counting the stamps.

4thly, Lottery.

5thly, Fines for blows with the stock and others.

6thly, Domains ; all villages, towns and burghs, which at the epoch of the Austrian

Invasion in 1772 were free, that is to say, had no lords, became the Kaiser's property, and forms his domains.

The Polish inhabitants of these domains are subject to forced labour, and to all other rates, taxes, and tithes, like the serfs of private individuals.

The greater part of these domains are sold to individuals. We have already said that it is not permitted the Polish peasantry, subject to forced labour, to ransom themselves. Confiscated property falls to the Kaiser.

7thly, Monopolies.

Under this head are understood, 1stly, salt, 2ndly, tobacco, 3rdly, gunpowder, 4thly, diligences, 5thly, printing and the sale of classic books, 6thly, manufacture of military arms.

There are in Gallicia three principal salt works.

Those of Wieliezka, at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, are the most fruitful and celebrated in the world.

The salt of these works requires no preparation to fit it for consumption. It resembles a frozen sea, the salt of which is nearly as transparent and clear as that of ice.

The net revenue of the salt works of Wieliezka amounts to more than six millions of florins a year, the cost of working to barely one hundred thousand florins.

It is severely forbidden all individuals to use salt or saline springs which they may discover on their estates.

It is forbidden individuals to keep diligences or horses on the Kaiserial road (Kaiserstrasse). The punishment for transgressing this befehl is the confiscation of the horses and an arbitrary fine. Drivers and individuals who travel with their own horses

are obliged before their departure to furnish themselves with a Certificate from the government, which contains the number and specification of the horses, and pay to the Kaiser an indemnity, called Kopytkowe.

The diligence fares are higher in Gallicia, where the hectolitre of oats costs only twenty or twenty-four sous, than in France where oats are manyfold dearer.

A place in the interior of the Kaiserial diligence—and there are no others—from Leopold to Vienna, that is to say two hundred Austrian leagues, costs forty-eight florins or nearly five pounds.

The net revenue which the Kaiser derives from Gallicia amounts to from twelve to fourteen million florins, and the expenses in Gallicia amount to from four to six millions. The Kaiser's net revenue is there-

fore eight million florins (eight hundred thousand pounds) yearly.

This net revenue, which every year augments the Imperial treasury, is explained by the excess of production over consumption, and of exportation over importation.

The Polish peasants produce ten times more than they consume. The black slaves cost their proprietors much more than the Austriaco-polish slaves.

The expense of public works amounts to from four to six thousand florins yearly.

An express permission of the Kaiser must be obtained for every fresh construction however small the amount of expense, and for all repairs that cost more than two hundred florins (twenty pounds).

The towns must have the permission of the Circles, for all the ordinary expenses

which exceed the sum of five florins. The Kaiser is the only banker of his Empire. Individuals are only his clerks, destined to draw money from Russia, Turkey, France and England, by means of fraudulent bankruptcies, &c.

Austrian silver money contains thirteen sixteenths of fine and three sixteenths alloy. In Gallicia anything but copper and paper money and pieces of silver of twenty kreutzers is never seen.

Two florins (four shilling-pieces) of silver are very scarce.

The gold which the Kaiser draws from the Hungarian mines is only destined to increase his treasure.

The Russian ducats and roubles are in full circulation and known by every one in Gallicia, which shows that the exports from Gallicia into Russia much surpass the im-

ports. Since the Polish insurrection of 1809, Austria grants an asylum to all the rich Russian Poles.

The Kaiser Francis was informed by his agents that the Russian roubles, struck in the reign of Catherine the Second, considerably exceeded their nominal value, and ordered his secret agents to buy in Russia seven millions of roubles, which he caused to be melted down; gaining by this speculation one million roubles or £160,000.

The Germans know the Finances of Russia better than the Russians themselves.

The paper money which the French republic issued from necessity, and which disappeared with the financial crisis, was introduced into Austria, and only exists there at present through the speculative spirit and insatiable cupidity of the Kaisers seeking to enrich themselves at the expense

of their subjects and strangers—a befehl sanctions the punishment of death against any one refusing to receive them. During the first two years after their first emission paper money was at par with cash.

The facility of transport and its novelty made it sought after. The Kaiser Francis profitted by the simplicity of his people, and ordered all his cashiers of circles and his public agents to make payments only in paper money, and to exchange and buy up, with paper money, all the gold and silver they could. His secret agents spread themselves for the same end in all the provinces and abroad. He commanded, under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation, all churches, towns, parishes and public bodies to deliver up to him all gold and silver articles and money, and had them paid in paper money

according to the exchange as Austrian justice requires.

The result of these financial operations was that gold poured into the imperial coffers ; but soon afterwards, notwithstanding the hundreds of millions which those indefatigable champions of despotism, the French emigrants, were importing, gold and silver became scarce, and the value of paper money began to fall from 1795 till in 1809 it was of seven for eight. In 1811 a *befehl* appeared which reduced the nominal value of paper to twenty per cent. and in 1816 appeared another *befehl* which reduced it to eight per cent.

This eight per cent. was paid in paper money, called bank notes, which are at present in circulation, which constitute the fictitious debt of the Austrian monarchy and await an ulterior reduction.

These reductions produced a mass of failures, and bankruptcies throughout the whole empire. Strangers suffered, the Kaiser alone gained. The Kaiser might rid himself of this debt by a befehl but he prefers maintaining the paper money, and these are the reasons : firstly, paper money makes him master of his subjects' fortunes ; and secondly, because the value of paper depends upon his own will. Lastly, he thus gains, every year, millions which the possessors of paper lose by combustion, destruction, and other accidents.

I know a lawyer at Leopold who lost twenty seven thousand florins of paper money eaten by the rats. The Kaiser therefore profitted to the same amount, because all loss or deterioration of paper goes in the possessor's account.

The Kaiser will not take paper money of which the smallest piece is wanting.

This paper money serves as a further pretext for the Kaiser to extort from his faithful subjects, because he is supposed to have debts and pay the interest on them. To this effect the amount of the debt and interest are published in all the almanacks, in all historical, geographical books and journals.

It is made known by the professors to all scholars and by the priests to all their parishioners. In abolishing the debt and paying nothing, the Kaiser would appear of bad faith, would not be able to deceive in future, and would gain less. whereas in reducing it gradually *ad infinitum* he appears to act with good faith and can always deceive his creditors, not only ninety two per cent. as he has done, but nine hundred and

ninety nine out of a thousand. The raising taxes is done in the following manner, there is, as we have already said, at the chief place of every circle, a treasury (Kreis Kasse) composed of a collector, comptroller, and two writers. The contributors are obliged to pay their taxes quarterly into the hands of the cashier of the circle, after the expiration of the time for the payment, he sends a nominal list of defaulters to the circle.

The circle calls out a military force and quarters on the defaulters, one or two soldiers of Infantry on peasants or burghers; and Cavalry soldiers, or officers on noblemen.

The defaulters are obliged to lodge and feed the soldiers and horses, and pay each soldier the first eight days six Kreutzers per day, the next eight days twelve Kreutzers per day.

This mode of levying is called in Austria

military execution. When there are not soldiers sufficient, and this constantly happens, nearly always one soldier is charged with thirty, forty, or sixty executions. He then visits the defaulters daily to collect the fine, and the military collectors do not receive any pay whilst they are thus employed, the amount being withheld for the Kaiser's benefit. If after two months' execution and military vexations, the defaulter does not pay his tax, then a commissary is sent who has a right to include the expenses of a carriage and four horses to go and return, and eight shillings a day (called *dieten*) as an indemnity. According to the Austrian system the taxes considerably exceed the pecuniary means of those taxed.

The Kaiser's avidity knows no bounds ; whatever can be extorted is so.

Those who can, are made to pay for those

who cannot, nothing being left to the peasantry but that which is absolutely necessary to a miserable subsistence, and even that is only left to those who are indispensibly necessary to production, or as instruments of oppression.

The rest of the Polish population is left to die of misery and inanition.

We have already stated that the aboriginal population of Gallicia and Lodomeria instead of increasing has considerably diminished during the seventy three years, which have elapsed since the commencement of the paternal sway of Austria.

Attached to each circle is a doctor (*kreis physik*) paid by government at the rate of eight hundred florins a year. His professed duty is gratuitously to attend the sick peasants.

These peasants, who in the spring live only on herbs and roots, are attacked by fever.

Instead of giving them bread, or rather instead of depriving them of it, the doctor, who receives his secret instruction from the Gubernium, orders a decoction of herbs, which carries off the peasantry in masses.

In each chief place of the circle there is a privileged pharmacy, which bears the title of kayserial pharmacy.

All physicians and apothecaries of the circles are of German origin and, for the most part, birth. They take an oath of fidelity and secrecy to the government.

The Austrian government is master of the art of all kinds of poisoning, and no people lend themselves with more *sang froid*, devotion, and fidelity to similar crimes than the Austrian Germans.

The amount of the Kaiser's exactions under the title of taxes, are about from 16 to 18 millions annually. It varies according to the means of the population liable to taxation.

The receipts, as we have already said, amount to from 12 to 14 millions. The difference between the receipts and the amount demanded that is to say four millions of florins which cannot be extorted, is termed arrears.

These arrears are kept in evidence, and the commissaries, where possible, exact payment of them during a few ensuing years.

After more than five years of fruitless vexations, the Kaiser remits these arrears. It is remissions of a similar nature that the Kaiser makes, from time to time, when wishing to give proofs of his inexhaustible generosity and magnanimity, and which the German papers trumpet with such perfidious emphasis.

A befehl of the Kaiser allows his subjects to make their payments in foreign pieces of gold or silver, and the treasurers are obliged to receive them according to the fixed tariff.

But, on the other hand, the treasurers are ordered, under pain of dismissal and imprisonment, to pay all subjects, functionaries or individuals, only in paper money or Austrian silver pieces. The declared object of this befehl is to preserve the subjects from the frauds and vexations of the treasurers.

The real secret object of the Kaiser is to gain possession of all the gold and silver that comes into the country. The treasurers are obliged to indicate in their journals, in detail, the pieces and kinds of money paid. All the Austrian or foreign gold pieces and all foreign silver is sent to the Kaiser's treasury at Vienna the first day of each month. All foreign money which falls into the public, civic, or Kayserial treasuries are only issued from them to be conveyed to Vienna.

There is for the whole of Gallicia but one

exchange office, at Leopol, in which paper money can be exchanged against silver pieces of twenty Kreutzers (eightpence) there is in this office but a single kaiseral agent to effect this exchange, and only during five days of the week, from nine in the morning until twelve. Generally not more than from five, six, or ten florins is exchanged for each individual. The paper notes are generally for one, two, five, ten, fifty, one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand florins.

The financial administration is merciless in its exactions and miserable in its expenditure. Austrian Poland has no canals, railroads nor public works. There is but one single great road which leads from Vienna to Brody, and it is encumbered with tolls every two leagues.

Commerce, which enriches other countries,

impoverishes Austrian Poland, profiting only the Kaiserial treasury. There are in the Austrian Empire free towns, the significance of which is not known in the rest of Europe ; two of these, Brody and Podgorze, are situated in Austrian Poland, both on the Russian frontier. The free Austrian towns have a right to introduce all indigenous and foreign merchandise free of any custom-house duty — but, as regard exportation, are looked upon as foreign. They are surrounded by sbirri and custom house officers on the Russian frontier. The exportation of merchandise for Russia is facilitated by the Austrian government by all legal and illegal, private and public means—in a word, the free Austrian towns of Brody and Podgorze are smuggling dens organised by the Kaiser himself against

Russia. The free towns are, on the other hand, administered, like all other towns; they pay enormous taxes, and are destined to draw the money from Russia and Russian Poland. The accountant's office, called Buchhaltung, established at Leopold, keeps the accounts of the revenue and expenses of Austrian Poland, and controls the accounts of all the administrative and judicial authorities.

This office is dependent on the Aulic chamber of finance at Vienna (hof kammer). The financial system is so exact and severe in Austria, that it is impossible to cheat the Kaiser of a single farthing, without being discovered, but in order to palliate his avarice and induce the unsophisticated people to believe that the enormity of taxation arises from the functionaries' robbing the Kaiser, in visiting the Buchhaltung during his presence

at Leopol, said—"this is where they count farthings and rob millions," these words, of which the Germans alone know the whole weight, are repeated and carried to the knowledge of all Poles.

The Austrian Empire itself would be perilled if the avarice and opulence of the Kaiser were known by his non-Germanic subjects.

CHAPTER XI.

Recapitulation. Cause of the Insurrection of Cracovia and Gallicia. Massacre of the clergy and landed proprietors ordered.

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THE ten preceding chapters of this work were written and in the press before the Polish insurrection of Cracow and Gallicia in the month of February, 1846 ; the present is written after that event, and its object

is to recapitulate the ten preceding chapters, and to show the causes and action of the insurrection which recently broke out and which ought to surprise no one, because it was a necessary sequel to the robbery, oppression, and rapacity of the paternal government. This insurrection was to be moved by the Catholic clergy and proprietors, because it is these two classes who are forced by the government to oppress the peasants to its own exclusive advantage. We have seen that the monarchical principle, *divide et impera*, is practised in Galicia on the most extensive scale; the peasants, nobles, burghers, priests, soldiers, workmen, masters, servants, men and women, are all equally liable to flogging. Poles, Germans, Jews, Kaiserical, Civil and Seigniorial functionaries, each in their class have peculiar duties, privileges and tribunals. We have

seen that the Austrian throne is only an office ; it is on this account that the German liberals and the Poles call the Kaiser, his grand vizier Metternich, and all his clerks and functionaries, Jews. We have seen that the Austrian government is not aristocratical because the nobility takes no part ; neither is it democratical because the people is quite excluded, it cannot be called a Bureaucracy because the functionaries are only servile agents. The functionaries, civil and military officers in swearing fidelity to the Kaiser, abjure their country and nationality ; they cease to be children and defenders of their country and become vile mercenaries of the Kaiser. The feeling and conviction they possess of their own degradation divests them of all personal and national dignity ; they are knavish, perfidious, cowardly towards their country and towards the truth.

They are almost without exception of the lowest and most indigent extraction, whether of the noble or plebeian classes—without religion, morals or country. The Kaiser who is supposed to pay them is their God. He is the source and visible head of their religion. They are neither Poles, Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians nor Italians, they are Austrians. The German Austrians themselves say that the chancellor Metternich is only a Westphalian parvenu called Ochsenhausen. The nominal Vice-Governor of Galicia, the Baron Krieg is a Hessian parvenu, he came to Galicia, barefoot and covered with rags, forty-five years ago obtained a situation of three hundred florins yearly, and succeeded in marrying the daughter of an honest tailor of Leopold, who brought him six hundred florins marriage portion, and gave him two boys. As soon as he became Aulic Councillor, Krieg

was ashamed of his wife, and degraded her to the situation of cook. Krieg is of a cold disposition, divested, like almost all the Austrian functionaries and officers, of all sentiments of dignity, liberty, humanity or generosity ; a faithful and devoted servant of his Kaiser, to whom he owes all his existence ; a cruel and sanguinary executor of his orders. The General Werbna, Commandant of the town of Cracow, is a Bohemian renegade. The General Castiglione, Commandant of Gallicia, is an Italian renegade, &c. &c. The Kaiser Habsburg himself is a Swiss parvenu. These are the people who govern unfortunate Poland, who order the massacres of the Catholic clergy and eminent Polish patriots.

We have seen that the Polish language, essential basis of nationality, is forbidden in the schools, the tribunals, administration,

army and church—that the seigniorial estates and those of the peasantry are individual—that the proprietors cannot free these peasants from forced labour, that the entire revenue of the forced labour, and even more, accrues to the imperial treasury.

We have seen that many proprietors are cruel and ill-treat the peasantry, but they only ill-use them because the government requires it, because the Government deprives the peasant of the national right of defending himself against the proprietor or his aggressive officers, and only punishes with an illusory fine of twenty four kreutzers a blow of the stock.

Metternich says in his diplomatic note of the 7th March, 1846, that he has sent to his agents at the German courts “ that the Austrian government had ameliorated the condition of the Polish

peasantry who hate polonism (Polenthum) because it reminds them of their misery--that the insurgents of Cracow and Gallicia did not wish to make a revolution but a counter-revolution." It is of bad augury for the Austrian empire when its grand vizier Metternich is driven to defend himself by such diplomatic falsehoods. During no period of the Polish independent government has the condition of the peasantry been legally and systematically more unfortunate than under the paternal government of Austria. The Austrian Polish peasantry are much more unfortunate than the Russian peasantry and, past comparison, more unhappy than the Prussian Polish peasantry. The Russian ladies, subaltern officers, generals, functionaries and Russian soldiers have a much greater sentiment of liberty and sympathy for human nature

than the Austrian German, or Austrianized subjects, who are quite devoid of it. We have seen that the peasantry are oppressed by the lords and clergy, and that the lords and clergy are oppressed by the government. The lords have a right to forced labour, but on account of this forced labour they pay to the Kaiser under the head of direct and indirect taxes, more than a hundred and twenty per cent. They are obliged to maintain a justiciary, and mandatarious to levy the conscripts and taxes on the peasantry. The lords might virtually renounce the forced labour, but they cannot free themselves from the charges attendant on the forced labour, and which absorb it to the Kaiser's profit. We have already observed that there are besides, peasants of whom the Kaiser is at the same time lord, these peasants constitute the domains, and are called *Kammerals*.

It is of these peasants that the paternal government made use to massacre the priests and Polish nobles. It is not the peasantry of the nobles who assassinated their lords. No, it was the Kaiser's peasantry, commanded by Colonel Benedik, and soldiers disguised as peasants, who went from castle to castle murdering the Polish nobles, men, women and children, without ever having seen them, and delivered the bodies to the Circles in consideration of ten florins a head. Metternich in his note does not deny the premium promised of ten florins. The regular monarchical government boasts and publishes in the papers that the peasantry bring in every day bodies of the nobles. Instead of arresting the assassins, as any other regular government would do, the paternal government pays and encourages them to

fresh exploits. The paternal government knew some time back the general dissatisfaction which its rapacity must necessarily produce, and it expected an insurrection ; it has also for some time past treated the crown peasantry with caution, to unleash them with greater success against these nobles and their peasantry. The Polish Insurrection was to have broken out on the 22nd or 28th of February, and the paternal government was forewarned of it. It might have had the conspirators arrested and tried, but judicial proceedings are long and expensive, and proofs difficult. It would be necessary to acquit—there not being sufficient proof—persons dangerous to the anti-national government. It would have been necessary to issue amnesties, not to pass for barbarous and cruel in the eyes of Europe. On the other hand, how arrest the

judges of the land themselves, and imprison one or two hundred thousand conspirators ? The Czar, whose cruelty is more open, has the conspirators seized, judged, and hanged. In proportion as the Czar publishes himself does the Kaiser dissimulate. The paternal government therefore anticipates the conspiracy, sends assassins ten days before its outbreak to massacre the nobles, priests and patriots the most dangerous to despotism. After having had all the persons suspected of liberalism or nationalism assassinated in this manner, and after having confiscated their property, the Kaiser will interfere in favor of the priests and nobles, will deplore the catastrophe, shed tears, grant a general amnesty after having had three or four thousand patriots murdered—and the German hireling press will chaunt the clemency and generosity of the good Kaiser Landsesvater.

To give proof of his justice and good will, the Kaiser will maintain the Robot, or change it into a quit rent, because it is necessary to the system that the lords should always be the objects of hatred and execration of the peasantry, so that their eyes may be averted from the real author of their misery.

CHAPTER XII.

We cannot better terminate this work than by re-producing a few traits which throw light on the events which have taken place in Poland, and particularly in Gallicia, which clearly show the incompatibility and contrast of a monarchical government, par excellence, and the national spirit of Poland which is one of fraternity.

The proclamation of the insurgent Poles, and the conduct of the provisional government of Cracow give the best answer to all the stories and calumnies which the absolutist press of Germany, and the accomplices of Metternich in France, seek to propagate.

The independent press and independent members of both legislative chambers of France have already rendered justice to this atrocious piece of barbarity, with which the monarchy treats Poland, and imposes its domination. It becomes daily more evident that the massacres in Gallicia were ordered, prepared, organized, directed and paid by the Austrian government. Excepting confidential agents, friends, and accomplices of Austria, this ought not to astonish any one in France, because despotism can only exist and maintain itself by such a system.

and falsehood. All despotisms follow the same system. They establish and maintain themselves by the same means, but they apply these differently according to circumstances—according to the measure of their danger and power. The more they are menaced in their existence the more cruel and barbarous they become. The events in Galicia only prove that Austrian despotism, paternal as it is for its docile, submissive, and degraded slaves, is execrated by all Polish patriots, and that, at its last gasp, it can find no other way of maintaining itself than by cheating and corrupting the ignorant who are plunged in the greatest misery, and of exterminating in a body the enlightened middle classes. It flattered, deceived, and subsidized the unfortunate peasantry, led away by promises, brandy, and false brothers,

travestied and regimented, for without the aid of the peasantry it would have been lost, but once out of the danger, it will treat them as it treated the Hungarian peasantry, whom it made use of in 1831 to massacre the Hungarian nobles. It is neither a new system nor a change of the old. That which has always been practised in Austria quietly, with the approbation of all princes, on isolated patriots, is practised now on a larger scale for the greater glory and safety of the monarchy. Sooner or later, and perhaps even shortly, events will not fail to show that, notwithstanding what has recently happened in Gallicia, the people of that country are one of the mildest, most honest, and patriotic in Europe, but on account of its simplicity, easy to cheat and enslave, as formerly the Jewish people which cried crucify ! crucify !

Of all those who have latterly made themselves the instruments, defenders, or apologists, of the paternal Austrian government it is not the Polish peasantry who are most to blame, neither are they the most cruel. Which of the two is most depraved and degraded, an ignorant person plunged in the greatest misery, deceived and led by the example of others, and by the lure of money, or a philosopher, a minister, or a writer, living in luxury, who maintains the same system, with a perfect knowledge of the circumstances and against public opinion, for a salary of one hundred thousand francs.

*Manifesto of the national government of
the republic of Poland.*

Poles,

THE moment for insurrection is arrived—
all dismembered Poland rises—already our
brethren of the Grand Duchy of Posen, of
Russian Poland, and Lithuania have risen
and are fighting in Russia against the
enemy, fighting for their most sacred
rights, which force and cunning have taken
from them. You well know what has
happened and what is now happening.
The flower of our youth perish in dungeons ;
our fathers, whose councils upheld us, are
treated with contempt ; our clergy is
vilified ; whoever wishes either to live or die
for Poland is either destroyed, perishes in a

dungeon, or is exposed to being thrown into one every moment. The groans of millions of our brethren who were dying under the infliction of the knout in subterranean dungeons, or removed into the heart of the oppressor's country, undergoing all the sufferings that man can endure, have penetrated our hearts, which have been thereby deeply affected.

We have been deprived of our glory, our language has been forbidden, and we have been interdicted from exercising the rites of our forefather's creed. Insurmountable barriers are opposed to the amelioration of our social state, brother is armed against brother, and calumny is spread against the most honourable children of our country—One step more, my brethren, and Poland was lost. Our descendants will curse our memory for having left in one of the finest

countries of the earth only ruins and a desert, for having left a warlike people in bondage and for having forced them to profess a strange religion, to speak a foreign language, beneath the yoke of our oppressors. The ashes of our fathers, martyrs to the national right, cry to us from the tomb to avenge them ; the children at the breast ask us to preserve for them the country which God has confided to us. All the free nations of the earth call upon us not to allow our nationality to be destroyed. God himself calls upon us, He who one day will make us render an account of our trust. We are twenty millions—let us rise as one man and no power can crush us.

We shall enjoy liberty which has hardly been equalled on earth, let us endeavour to obtain a free spot, where every one will enjoy the fruits of the earth according to

his merits and capacity ; let there be no longer any kind of privilege, let every Pole find full security for himself, wife and children, and let him who is inferior in body or intellect receive, without humiliation, the infallible assistance of the whole nation, in which the real right to the possession of the soil is vested, and at present is possessed only by a few. Interests cease, as well as forced labour, and other similar rights, and those who sacrifice themselves, and arm in the national defence will obtain an indemnity in land and national domains. Poles, henceforward, we acknowledge no difference amongst us, let us be children of one mother, of one country, of one father. Our God in heaven ! let us implore His assistance, He will bless our arms and give us victory, but in order that He may grant our requests, let us not sully ourselves by the

disgraceful vice of drunkenness, nor any infamous action ; let us not treat despotically those confided to us ; let us not murder those that are disarmed, those who do not think as we do ; neither let us destroy the stranger, because we have no quarrel with nations, but only with our oppressors. In sign of friendship, let us adopt the national creed and take the following oath : “ I swear to serve Poland, my country, by council, word, and action ; I swear to sacrifice to it my opinions, life and fortune ; I swear an absolute obedience to the national government established at Cracow, the 22nd of this month. at eight o'clock in the evening, in the house of Krystofory, and to all the authorities instituted by government. So help me God ! ”

This manifesto shall be inserted in the government newspapers and supplementary papers, and sent all over Poland, notified

in all the churches from the pulpit, and in all the parishes, and by public placards in public places.

Signed,

Louis Gorzkowski.

Cracow, 22nd Feb., 1846.

*Poland's Manifesto, struggling for its liberty.
to the German nation.*

The provisional government of the kingdom of
Poland struggling for its liberty.

FREE and noble German nation! The insurrection of our brethren of the Grand Duchy of Posen has given rise to a loss

of men which we we have shared in common. Our brethren dare at present neither explain nor excuse the cause of this struggle. We speak for them, in order that the cause of the struggle be not misunderstood, and that from the beginning it give not rise to ill-feeling. Inferior in point of strength, we cannot address ourselves to a government but we can address ourselves to the people ; for every noble heart and free German are able to understand us.

Our brethren of Posen in attacking the government and army proposed to unite with us in arms, and energetically assist us in our struggle against our barbarous oppressors. Their attack was therefore neither prompted by hatred to you nor by a blind self love. If God blesses our efforts our government will enter into communication with yours.

We swear from the present moment friendship and concord. Between generous and free people, there can only exist friendship and concord ; neither you nor ourselves can forget how Germany received our brethren after the sanguinary struggle of 1831. God has engraven this fact in the hearts of all honest men. We feel convinced that as soon as our exiled brethren, hearing of our struggle, hasten to our aid, you will not refuse them your assistance, for could you allow the arms of an old guest to be fettered in your own land. You understand our struggle, you have sustained one that was analogous, you conquered in the gigantic combats of 1813 and 1814. We, on the contrary, succumbed.

Perhaps God will bless our present enterprise for the glory and liberty of the whole

of humanity, so that it may one day comprise none but free and independent nations—

(Given near Kielee, the 22nd Feb., 1846.

Signed,

Wegierski Razmowski.

CHAMBER OF PEERS.

Sitting of the 20th of March.

(The Duke d'Harcourt.)

“Gentlemen, I also come to take my share in this protestation against the manifestation made in this legislative assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs against our friends the Poles—a judgment which I sincerely hope is not without appeal, and which will not, I believe, be

ratified by France, because I can never believe that France, which we have seen formerly so chivalrous, generous, and full of pity, should at once have become, at the voice of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, so egotistical and unnatural. (*murmurs from the ministerial benches.*)

“The minister told you yesterday. What do you require of me? Do you ask my interference in the affairs of Poland? Gentlemen, if this question had been put to us in good faith, we should know how to answer it. (*great interruption.*)

The president addresses a few observations to the orator, “This question,” answers M. d’Harcourt, “is put with good faith, if you will, but I think that we have nothing to expect from that side, we ask nothing of you for Poland—we know its doom is sealed, its death sentence is pronounced by a

Christian Areopagus, by those sanguinary idols, calling themselves the representatives of God upon earth, and who treat with indignity the most sacred precepts of the gospel." (*murmurs*).

The president calls a second time on M. d'Harcourt to be more moderate in his language.

M. d'Harcourt. "I take the liberty of telling the chancellor that it is the perpetrators of crimes who ought to blush, and not those who denounce them to divine, in default of human justice.

"I was complaining of these men, who, having shamefully and traitorously despoiled Poland, now assassinate its last remains, because Poland has the audacity to claim its liberty and independence. If the governments of Europe could be moved by any sentiment of generosity, they would long ago

have profited by their superiority to make a peaceable conquest of the world, in order to be its benefactors ; instead of this they set the example of all spoliations and all crimes.

In Gallicia, they set prices on the heads, in the Lebanon they provoked massacres, the occupation of Algeria, it is only a long succession of throat cutting. They everywhere maintain the old system of slavery. These are the examples they give their people, in order, apparently, to encourage them to respect and submission.

“ Some day, gentlemen, divine justice will take its course—the popular storm and whirlwind will end by dealing justice on all these iniquities.”

From the "National" of June the 7th.

WE, this morning, spoke of important details relating to the state of things in Galicia and Russian Poland ; we now give the information and the documents which we have received from an undoubted source ; they are such as to throw much light on facts which are so impudently denied by the Austrian press, and on the present condition of those Polish Provinces. Our correspondent's letter is dated May the 19th.

" On my passage through Leopold," he writes, " I heard, in respect to the late insurrection, the most flagrant falsehoods propagated, According to the Austrians the insurgents were but assassins and poisoners,

I consider it to be the duty of an honest man to declare that these reports are nothing less than infamous calumnies. As soon as I shall be out of the reach of the vengeance of the government I shall not fail to send to you a detailed account of what took place at Tarnow. Allow me at once to express my regret that the Austrian German public are reduced to obtaining their information from the paid press. Were it better informed public opinion would look for assassins and poisoners where they really are, and most assuredly it is not among the insurgents that they would be found. I will, however, in the mean time, in order to set you right, mention a few facts. In the Circle of Tarnow alone 1458 persons were murdered ; in the town of Tarnow two hundred dead bodies were brought in, and each body was regularly paid for, at first

ten florins and subsequently five. When, in consequence of the glut of this species of merchandise, the price fell to one florin a piece, the peasants decided on carrying their dead bodies into other Circles in search of more liberal purchasers. From seven hundred to eight hundred prisoners were brought into Tarnow, all were more or less seriously wounded, and it is said that two hundred did not survive the effect of their wounds, but this account is perhaps not correct, because the police buried the dead during the night. Herewith I hand you a list of murdered persons who have all been buried in the cemetery of Tarnow.*

These are the only names I have been able to collect, the other victims consisted

* We have an alphabetical list of 149 names.

of servants of all descriptions at the country houses of nobility—there were also many priests killed. Szela, the chief of the revolted peasants, for the benefit of the Austrians killed twenty two for his share. His old master Boquet and his family were the first victims of his fury. In the streets of Tarnow a parcel of little half naked children are to be seen, whose parents are unknown. Widows are in the greatest state of misery. At Vienna, as you know, it is asserted that no premiums were given to the assassins. Well, the whole of Tarnow would however prove the fact. If the peasants were not paid let them tell us then why the peasants brought the dead bodies from such distances into the towns of this circle. Question the bystanders who witnessed these funeral arrivals, who saw the dead bodies counted and then money shared out to the peasants ; let the

Austrian Government guarantee against persecution those who will give evidence of the truth, and Europe will then soon know which of us has lied. I am not aware of what nature were the instructions given to the commanders in the circles of Tarnow and Bochnia. I do not know whether they acted contrary to the orders of their government, but what is certain, is, that they paid for all bodies dead or alive brought to them. It is even said that the resources of the circles being exhausted of money--would you believe it?—was taken from the fund destined to relieve the victims of the inundations last year. This is briefly what took place during the insurrection in Austrian Poland. Would you wish to know on what terms the imperial government uphold its authority? The two following official documents are an answer to this

question, and show that Austria has leagued with assassins. In fact it is during their pleasure that she reigns in Gallicia and she is now but the humble slave of Szela. A landowner in the circle of Yaslo, having complained that his peasants would no longer attend to agriculture, and that the summer sowing would not be effected, the petition was returned to the landowner with this observation, that at the present time no measures can be taken in the matter; besides which, that the circumstances which impeded cultivation no longer existed, since Szela himself had promised to use his influence to induce the peasants to do at least the summer sowing. It would be advisable, it is added, to apply to Szela for a recommendation of this to the district in question, and that the petitioner should afterwards give advice of the determination adopted

by his peasants. Thus, Szela, who is accused of having murdered twenty-two persons, is charged by the Austrian government with settling the relations between the peasants and their lords ; the other document is an ordinance from the Circle of Tarnopol, sent in the form of a circular into the district ; by this ordinance a deduction is allowed them for their services of the labour-rent due by them to the lords. I could add a multitude of others to these particulars, which show sufficiently the general tendency of matters here, and the spirit which animates the Austrian government.

The Prince of Statesmen.

METTERNICH was far from supposing that Europe would discover all the atrocity and baseness of the part which he had played in organizing the massacres of Galicia ; he was far from supposing that Europe would ascertain the truth of this sanguinary drama, through the disguise of official calumny and falsehood ! He no doubt thought if once the Gallician nobility were broken down and dispersed, that the peasants would return to order, and kneel, as they had previously done, to the paternal yoke of his most Catholic majesty ; his views have been frustrated, Europe has branded with all its indignation, the acts of

the Austrian cabinet. A thrill of horror—a feeling of disgust and contempt has pervaded all hearts, and Austria has lost in the eyes of Europe the little consideration which she might still enjoy. We think it necessary to recur to a fact, which may not be sufficiently understood—we mean the part which the peasants took in the recent massacres in Gallicia. The actors in these scenes of horror are not properly called peasants. They belong to the landwehr, and had all been more or less demoralized and debased in the ranks of the Austrian army. At the first call of the administration these men, or rather bandits, fell upon the nobility, but they were driven back on several points by the real peasantry; in general these men armed themselves for the defence of their lords, but they took care to stipulate

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for the abolition of forced labour. Peasants defended the castle of the princess Oglnska and protected it against wretches in the pay of the Austrian Government.

*Mission of Poland and France in the
Cause of Humanity.*

Extracted from the Democratic Pacifique of the
23rd instant.

A characteristic feature of the Polish political form of government, and one which shows how much these brave warriors cherished liberty, is the form of oath taken by their kings, and by which they freed their subjects from all allegiance if they violated any of the laws of the country ; this is the formula—" et si in aliquibus juramentum meum violavero, nullam mihi incolæ regni obedientiam præstare debebunt ; imo ipso

facto, eos ab omni fide, obedientia regi debita liberos facio."

Revolt in Poland therefore partook of a legal character. As soon as the king had violated his engagement the nobility took horse, publicly associated, confederated, and rendered themselves justice.

This spirit of political independance, which is also one of the characteristics of our country, is equally found in Poland as with us, when there is a question of freedom of thought and liberty of conscience. We have recalled the characteristic saying of Erasmus, that in his time, "it was only in Poland that men dared be learned." In truth previous to the fanatical reign of Sigismund Wasa, and the introduction of the Jesuits, (1622) Poland was distinguished by its toleration, love of liberty, and freedom of thought.

In the Sixteenth Century, Socin, the il-

lustrious heresiarch of Sienna, could only find an asylum in that generous country,

At the period of the crusades the Jews, driven from all parts, found hospitality there. Yes, let us be proud to call ourselves brothers of Poland, that heroic country, that guardian of Christianity and civilization to the east of Europe which has left memorable and ineffaceable traces in history of its brilliant genius and of its ardour for human progress.

Without remembering all the illustrious names of this nation in literature and the sciences, names, alas! but too little known in France, it will suffice to cite that of Copernicus, that great and glorious child of Poland.

Let us leave the little minds who only able to perceive one point of the history of nations, repeat that Poland was governed by

confusion (*Polonia confusione regitur*). The political institutions of this country even in accepting them as framed by classes by the electors (the Knight and Nobles) bore the stamp of that spirit of independance which characterizes those races destined to lead humanity in the imprescriptible path of liberty. Always in arms, the Polish nobility was ever ready to rise against barbarous enemies. The Polish nobility, which felt its democratic origin took care not to adopt the balance of the three constitutional estates which came to us from England. Feeling that it composed the body of the nation, it kept the power.

The Senate in Poland had only a consultative, administrative authority ; the King was elected. The so often repeated words, " the King reigns but does not govern " dates from Sigismond III. ; it is to this King that

the chancellor Zamoyiski said "*Regna sed non impera.*"

These institutions were certainly imperfect, but we repeat, and this we wish to prove that they showed the spirit of independence of the nation. Let us add that Poland possessed, from the fourteenth century, a code of laws, and that the debates were public. From the sixteenth century, it has the honour of first instituting a ministry of public instruction; at the same epoch Poland was the country which possessed most printing establishments—Cracow alone having forty eight.

The learned reformer, Schwartz —Fide (Melanchthon) after having shown that Poland guaranteed Germany and Pannonia (Hungary) from the savage hordes of Asia, rendered it homage in these words "may the arts and sciences long develop themselves

and flourish with this magnanimous nation.⁷⁵ The brilliant futurity reserved for the Sclavonian race, of which Poland is the chief representative, was stopped in its progress by the dismemberment of that country. Europe thus lost its Eastern torch ; France its beloved sister, Napoleon once appeared to have understood the high destinies of this people ; but never put these views in practice. He sacrificed Poland and part of Italy to the vain alliance with the Cæsars, to that Austrian family which Henry IV., with the profound political acumen which distinguished him wished to reduce to a secondary importance. The treaties of 1815 show the last feeling of shame on the part of Europe towards Poland ; but these treaties were not executed. In 1830, France rose against the pretensions of its Kings. Poland made the Tartar eagle tremble. The same electrical current of liberty seized the members

of both nations, Poland and France, but alas ! brute force crushed the noble endeavours of Poland. France saw her emancipating star become pale under the weight of a corrupting government, and a Burgher class who, forgetting the great tradition of eighty nine, wastes its energy in a scramble for place, for a share in the division of the budget, and in efforts to secure scandalous, stock-jobbing profits.

“ France and Poland appeared to slumber. But at the sound of the Cracow insurrection France awakens, and all her sympathies are for the Polish cause.

“ Kings of the earth you may not care for the law of Providence which agitates these two noble nations. But the era of general salvation does not approach the less rapidly. Do not struggle against the work of God. If you do not wish that vengeance

should fall on the princely casts, meditate on that deep thought which serves as a motto to the new Polish revolution—the Slavonian race wishes to give the people liberty such as has not yet been seen upon the earth. Yes, the world has not yet seen all the members of a nation participate in the rights and duties of a society based on justice. It is the reign of God which our Eastern brethren announce. They have proclaimed it from the heights of the Carpathian mountains ! let us endeavour to prevent this new Sinai from being turned into a Golgotha—let us act so that if this misfortune happen the resurrection be not long waited for—that the tombstones of the martyr may soon be broken into a thousand pieces, to allow the noble figure of the regenerate Slavonian race to re-appear !

“Let us raise the voice of France so that it awaken the distant echos of Christianity ; let us act so that the walls of the Vatican and St. Peter’s of Rome, those walls, where after having been carried in triumph through all Europe, shines the standard taken by Sobieski from the Turks, may resound with a *te Deum* for the re-establishment of Poland ! Innocent XI, at the news of the victories of this hero fell at the feet of the crucifix, shedding tears of joy. Let us act in such a manner that this holy enthusiasm may warm the priests of our days. Their power is great, their gratitude to the deliverer of Christendom ought to be great, let us act in a manner that the providential missions of France and Poland may be accomplished ; humanity demands it, France proclaims, and God wills it !”

PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED TO THE CONFEDERATE
POLES.

Leopol, 18th of March---Programme addressed to
the Confederates by the Chief of the Con-
spirators.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLT.
GENERAL RISING.

1stly. Every confederate is obliged as soon
as he has received news of the insurrection
to appear on a fixed day and hour, with
arms and baggage, at the spot designated.

2dly. The agents appointed for this ob-
ject are bound to inform the confederates of

the period of insurrection, and the conduct to be pursued. They will also fix upon the spot where the confederates and forces gained over by the revolution are to assemble. Every agent will according to circumstances appoint the rendezvous.

3dly. Every confederate before appearing at the appointed spot, more particularly if he is in direct communication with our people, must assemble the parish and announce the revolution in the following manner :

“ Brother Poles. I have called you together in order to announce to you, in the name of the new government of the Polish Republic, the liberty, equality and independence of our country, as well as the fraternity of all Poles. From to-day the Polish government declares all forced labour abolished, all interests, payable in kind or otherwise, as well

as the custom-house monopoly of tobacco, and all other taxes. All peasants possessing burthened property, or paying taxes are henceforward free and absolute proprietors without necessity of indemnifying the actual proprietor, only remaining subject to those charges strictly necessary for the wants of the country. All those who do not possess landed property will receive, on taking arms, five acres of land (morgen) as soon as the Germans are driven from the land. Every one receives without retribution the salt which he requires, God having given it in our earth.

From this moment all serfage ceases ; the titles of Nobility, Prince, Baron, Count are abolished. All the inhabitants of the country, including the Israelities, will enjoy the same privileges. We are all henceforward Polish

citizens, with equal rights, under the same government.

Brethren ! From the moment I am speaking to you, the same right is proclaimed everywhere throughout the whole of Poland. Everywhere the people is taking arms and fighting its enemies—the Germans and Russians. On the expulsion of the enemy depends the happiness of your country and your own.

Forward then in the name of the liberties which I announce to you ; in the name of your own happiness and that of your children ! in the name of Poland which God has given to you, and which He calls upon you to defend ! of the country at this moment occupied by the Germans and Russians who oppress you.

I call upon you in the name of the Almighty ! Seize your scythes, your pitch-

forks, and flails : rise and march against the enemy with me. The day is at length arrived when after the great evils of the country and its many dissensions, the Poles unite to attack the enemy, the Germans and Russians.

Down with the tyrants ! down with the oppressors ! long live liberty and equality, independence and fraternity, long live the Polish people !

Brethren, to-day the people regains its rights. There are now no lords. We are all equal, all animated with the same sentiments, the desire of getting rid of the enemy. Poles to arms ! God blesses us !”

Instruction. Where there is a priest the present act must be proclaimed with banners unfurled, he must appear with the people at the appointed spot, cross in hand, he is then to be conducted to the neigh-

bouring village, and must, in every case, bless the enterprise and arms of the insurgents.

In those places where there is no Confederated Priest, the Patriot must call upon the Priest alone, and order him to harangue, the people.

When the people shall have received the invitation to join the movement, the patriot must conduct them to the spot designated. Everywhere on his passage he must proclaim the Revolution, and those who shall resist or endeavour to prevent the propagation of the movement must be put to death upon the spot.

The confederates must arrive at the stipulated hour, at the spot appointed.

They must only remain in other places to proclaim the Revolution as long as time allows them. Every one will therefore

begin the revolutionary movement sooner or later according to the distance of the place where he must appear.

As soon as the signal is given, each of the confederates must prepare arms for the people ; those who have a horse must bring it in order that a division of cavalry may be immediately formed. As soon as the Revolution shall have been proclaimed, and that the people is in motion, all those must be detained who are going towards the spot where the insurrection is directing itself, and will only be liberated after the attack. Every one must act according to the instructions received, and obey the orders of the chief, under a penalty of death. This organization has the force of law.

*Address of the Polish Emigrants to the
Legislative Chambers.*

Peers and Deputies,

You have had before your eyes for fifteen years a picture of the cruelties and sanguinary measures practised for the subversion of all moral and social order in Poland, under the domination of the Czar, an example partly followed, though with an appearance of moderation, by the two other spoliating powers, but whose tendencies were neither less iniquitous or subversive.

To attain this, as well as to facilitate for the autocrat, insatiable of Polish blood, the means of a prompt fulfilment of this work of destruction, unheard of in the

annals of the world, these powers have bound themselves, since the revolution of Poland in 1830, by fresh treaties to deliver up the victims who sought to elude the tyrant's vengeance. No engagements to the powers, no considerations for nations and humanity, no fear of that public opinion denouncing Nicholas, stopped them in their iniquitous career. But the nation which has not lost its dignity with its happiness is always ready to re-seize its rights, at the risk of succumbing to the exterminating sword of the enemy, sooner than see itself plunged, with all its generation, in misery and slavery. This, gentlemen, is at this moment the situation of the ancient kingdom of Poland. It is not an example or cry of insurrection issuing from some corner of the earth ; it is not the hope of any assistance in the midst of a profound

peace. It is the love of religion, country and liberty, and the consciousness of right arrayed on one side, against the most atrocious, refined, and spoliative tyranny on the other, which has provoked this unequal and desperate struggle. Already blood flows in quantities on that soil which was, during centuries, the guardian of Christianity, European liberty and civilization!

This time our brethren have only their naked breasts to oppose to the armed power of three enemies bent on their destruction. Men of all stations and classes fight in the same ranks, the women take in their feeble hands weapons to revenge these outrages, and if any symptom of disunion has manifested itself in these ranks, if a few egotists, insensible to the ills of their country, have remained indifferent spectators of the sanguinary struggle which has commenced, the means of demoralization and corruption,

which our enemy has been using for a quarter of a century must be taken into account. We are confident that Divine Providence, which controuls the destinies of nations, will inspire the children of the same country, will instil into their hearts love and concord, and unite them by the bond of common interest, for the triumph of our holy cause. Notwithstanding all the struggles to which Poland has been exposed, up to the present hour, in order to regain its rights and become an indivisible and independent nation, none can be compared to the present events which are indeed without a parallel in the history of the world. We know, gentlemen, that the imposing aspect which unfortunate Poland at this moment presents, moves all the generous minds of a great and heroic nation. It makes all hearts beat with fear and hope ;

it re-kindles all the sympathies, all the ineffaceable recollections of your glory. But there is a greater, a more powerful interest which speaks in favour of our cause.

Firstly, The interest of humanity outraged in all its rights ; the dignity of nations and sovereigns offended by the spectacle of the slaughter of a whole people without distinction of age, sex, or condition, commanded by an apostolic sovereign, whose capital was saved by the ancestors of this race, which now falls a victim to his rage. Horrible massacre ! Organized and executed by his agents.

It is besides the interest of that prosperity which manifests itself in Europe by the rapid progress of civilization, of industry, and by the daily improvements to which the arts and sciences give birth under the auspices of

wise and moderate governments. As long as any portion of Poland remains enslaved, Europe will always be seated on a volcano. All the efforts of a refined policy cannot destroy the sympathy of nations which is gained and assured to us for ever.

The Divine hand which directs our great social right reserves, perhaps, for a happier generation, the end of this struggle ; but if the day of justice is not yet arrived, if we succumb in this fearful strife, would it be in the nature of things to refrain from that struggle any longer, when the ferocious Nicholas, with his allies, seeks the extirpation of our nationality, and the extermination of entire races ! Then, gentlemen, that fearful day may perhaps arrive which was foreseen by that friend of Poland and humanity, who, in the belief that the social bond was being weakened in all the European states,

turned his sorrowing eyes towards the North, expecting to see issue from it warlike barbarians, alone capable, in their austere ignorance, of crumbling in the dust the odious decrepitude of Western nations plunged in luxury,—then only will be remembered, that Poland preserved Europe from the twenty-four consecutive Tartar invasions, which since the time of Gengiskhan came to break like waves against the rampart formed by the breasts of our fathers.

The first iniquity exercised by Poland, like the first crime of man on earth, has drawn down all the changes which have affected Europe during a quarter of a century. This truth has been acknowledged by the first political authorities, who cannot be suspected of excess of liberalism or partiality towards us; and the important troubles which have succeeded each other, since

the great judges of the congress thought that they had established order in Europe, are a fresh, incontestible proof of this, and call for a prompt expiation of this political crime.

It is in the face of such serious events, in the emotion of hearts which beat for our brethren, and in the momentary impossibility of assisting them by arms, that the Polish emigration finds itself compelled to raise its voice towards you, persuaded as it is of finding through you a support to which the dignity of a great nation obliges it, which humanity asks, and the general interest of nations demands.

But, gentlemen, to make carnage cease, without establishing the rights of ancient Poland, is only to nourish and re-kindle it with greater force and cruelty.

It is not a phantom kingdom, such as

was that devised by the Congress, which will assuage passions and obliterate outrages !

Glory to the nation which shall first weigh with all its might on the future destinies of Poland and the pacification of Europe—

(Here follow numerous signatures).

Chamber of Peers.

Sitting of the 19th of March.

M. de Montalembert. “ Were I tempted to applaud the insurrection, it would be particularly on account of its preventing prescription, and proving that the thought which presided at the crime of Poland’s par-

tition is amongst the number of those sterile ideas which have no result.

If, in all civilized nations, an attempt against a king's life has been placed higher than paricide, because a king represents and personifies all the strength and power of the country, what ought attempts against nations themselves to be considered ! That is a crime of which no code speaks, because it was not foreseen. When Poland was immolated, was it a degenerate nation ? No, it was a heroic country, which had given to the world, under the French banners, an example of valorous and military genius which France has certainly equalled, but not surpassed. Ought we to be insensible to the misfortunes of a nation thus divided, deprived of its language and its rights.

But we have also been menaced with this misfortune, and those sympathies which we

should have required in 1815, if our right had been so audaciously denied, let us grant to Poland. A greater crime than this exists not ; but however monstrous it may have been, this crime in effacing Poland, has not been able to kill it, and those who have rendered themselves culpable, have created for themselves a permanent source of difficulties which are not near their end.

Look at Greece, and Ireland, so long forgotten, have you not seen their re-action ; and this latter through the voice of a great orator. Is it not become for our neighbours a source of immense trouble ? And you think that in the presence of such great examples that Poland can ever renounce her nationality ! No gentlemen, consciences cannot be enchained, and there is an eternal reaction.

Be convinced, gentlemen, Polish nation-

ality cannot perish. The noble efforts which she has made will be renewed, and I hope that some day a voice, perhaps the eloquent one of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, will convey to this tribune the news of its success."

(M. Victor Hugo.) "Poland, my lords is still great amongst us ; it is great in the sympathies of France ; great in the respect of Europe ! Why ? Because it has served the European community. At one period of its history it rendered to the whole of Europe those services which are not to be forgotten."

A P P E N D I X.



VOL. II

A P P E N D I X .

The Cossacks. Their alienation from Poland, and treatment by Russia.

(From the history of Lelewel.)

Extraordinary rising of the people.

“ There was, however, a province where, under a warmer climate, a more unquiet spirit did not cease to manifest itself. This feeling was maintained in its dispositions by the neighbourhood of that Cossac liberty still existing, beneath the Muscovite yoke, beyond the Dnieper amongst the Zaporoges,

whose inaccessible retreats had hitherto sheltered their freedom from the violence of their protectors. Although the precautions taken on both sides of the Dnieper prevented terrible commotions amongst the Cossac people, it was evident the danger might still break out at any moment.

“We have a recent example (1702) in the rising of the Ukraine,” says Leszczinski, twice deposed from the national throne, “it was only brought on by the vexations of those amongst us who had acquired domains—we despised the courage of the poor inhabitants of these countries ; and they found resources in their despair.” This outbreak was occasioned it is not known why, by the unexpected revolt of the chief of the Cossacs, Palei, who had shown himself a short time previously quite devoted to the party of the Leszczinski and of the republic. He issued

from Chvastow, besieged the town of Biala-cierkew, and took it; and then attacked the fortress of Korsun and some other strong places. Having carried them, he put to the sword their feeble garrisons. An immense crowd of peasants rose on different points of the Ukraine, burnt its villages, and went to rejoin the Cossack camp, with its families and baggage. Palei chose those who were capable of bearing arms, and formed at first an army of thirty thousand men, which he divided into three corps, commanded by himself, Siemaszko, his son-in-law, and by Abazine. Following different directions, they carried everywhere, destruction and death—murdered or mutilated the nobles who fell into their power. In order to resist them, Potocki united in haste a few forces. The nobility of Volhynia took arms with so much the greater animation as the

spirit of revolt began to germinate in the provinces. The crown Hetman, Jerome Lubomirski, sent at the same time the republican troops. Stanislas Potocki, Starost of Chmielnik, jealous of a colonel who wished to seduce his regiment, gave this regiment a banquet at Berdiezec, when the Cossacs fell upon the town, killed him two hundred men, and took away a considerable amount of booty in plate, which was valued at a million of Polish florins.

On the morrow a fresh reinforcement of 2000 men turned the chances of victory ; 15000 Cossacs were defeated. Towards the end of the month of November all three corps of Cossacs united were beaten in open field. Abazine fell into their hands, and was impaled. 70,000 captives of all conditions, were taken, their lives spared, but they were branded and sent back to their respective lords.

Palei and Siemaszko retired into some strongholds, and the remainder of the insurgents barricaded themselves under their ramparts, with their wives, children, cattle, furniture, and resisted during the whole winter ; at last they succumbed to the tactics of the regular troops, commanded by the camp Hetman, Adam Sieniavski. There was at this period much blood spilt, and great desolation.

The King, Augustus II, was accused of fomenting this revolt in order to weaken the Leszczinski party, and the cossacs on being questioned, confessed this accusation before the tribunals, particularly at Luck (417). A few years later, in 1712, the peace of Prut very nearly occasioned a similar disagreement.

Peter the Great ceded to Turkey southern Ukraine, which he did not possess. In

consequence a portion of the Cossacs established themselves on the republican territory without acknowledging its sovereignty.

Instead of coming to an understanding, their Hetman answered the Hetman Jerome Lubomirski by threats. These Cossacs called themselves subjects of Turkey, desolated the country by their robberies, and occupied the environs of Human.

Lubomirski sent without delay an army of twelve thousand men against them. Victorious on several points it penetrated to the Sicz, siezed this strong-hold with all those who could not save themselves, and destroyed it. After this outbreak, for more than seventy years no popular outbreak disturbed the Ukraine. The irruption of the Zaporoges, in 1750, spread fire, pillage, and more considerable massacres than had previously happened. It was stopped, and

did not disturb the masses of the population, who remained quiet.

Lithuania in this space of time, in 1744, witnessed a deplorable revolt in the Starostie of Krzicvez. A peasant, named Voszczillo rose at the head of his brethren of the neighbourhood against oppression and violence. The insurgents stormed the castle of the Starostie without being able to take it. They were put down by the Lord-Steward of Lithuania, Radzwill, who possessed the Starostie of Krziczev.

These instances deserve to be mentioned, as they are rare. Oppression must have been pushed to an extreme if it exhausted the people's resignation and drove them to despair.

*Raising of the Ukraine through the intrigues
of the Tsarinna.*

THE populations of the Ukraine and Podolia did not cease to sympathize with the Cossacs. Their general threat was, when dissatisfied with their masters, to call in the Haidamaks. Thus were called the Zaporoges, who made eruptions brigand-like. With these people, they kept up correspondence, and if they did not take up arms with the Haidamak Cossacs, at least they connived at their marches and gave them advice. The incursions of the Haidamaks were often repeated. They generally chose the time when the richness of the fields invited them, and the wooded parts favoured their marches and retreats. They divided

themselves into small bands, and followed each other in single file, in order better to conceal themselves ; crossed forests, ravines, brushwood, thinking more of robbing than fighting ; but this robbery and brigandism might become converted into sanguinary invasion, when circumstances favoured or inflamed their temerity. The Ukraine in its great length is almost quite deprived of forests, but in some parts there was sufficient wood to conceal the march of these brigands ; and more particularly the forests, bordering the river Tasnim, near the Dnieper, favoured these robberies. In these forests there were several disunited monasteries capable of embittering religious hatred ; several Polish noblemen possessed large domains, and nearly the whole of the canton of Human (Houmagne) belonged to Potocki Palatine of Kijov. Since 1760 he had con-

fided it to the care of a skilful administrator, Raphael Mladanovicz. In the course of a few years Human became a commercial town, a school was established which counted more than 400 students, and the country became populous. Mladanovicz distributed the land amongst the cultivators, on condition of their furnishing twelve days a year of forced labour ; twelve for the construction of roads and a moderate poll tax whereby he drew together a numerous population.

For the security of the country, besides the ordinary cantonment of regular troops, regiments of Cossacs were organized, formed of the people of the country. This extraordinary activity and progress induced the Latin and united Greek clergy to cultivate zealously the thriving vineyard. Rhylo, united Bishop of Chelm, visited the faithful, and the fervour of the united clergy be-

gan to alarm the non-united. Gervaise Linovski, non-united Bishop of Perislav also interfered, both parties seeking to make converts. They became impatient and irritated ; the united metropolitan, Felicien Volodkovicz, was incensed at the activity of Melchsiedeh Iavorski, superior (igumen) of the non-united monastery of Motrenin, situated in the forest of Tasmin. It was in a similar frame of mind that the confederates of Bar in 1768 overran the lands of the proprietors who would not associate themselves to their patriotic enterprise.

After the retreat of the confederates, and displacement of the regular troops, a panic and sinister forebodings spread through the Ukraine. Maximus Zeleniak, a Zaporoge Cossac, a penitent of the non-united monastery of Medvedovka, seconded by the Igumen Melchisedech, began to or-

ganize bands, who united with the Zaporoges, commenced pillaging and massacring, proclaiming in the name of the empress that the moment of emancipation had arrived, and that the whole of Polish Ukraine was about to be organized into a Cossac militia. An ukaze of the empress was exhibited, the report was spread of formidable reinforcements of 50,000 men, and the people was summoned in the name of religion, menaced by the confederation.

At this appeal the people gathered in different points, and the force of Zelesniak increased as he advanced in the direction of Medvedovka, Zabatin, Smila, and Zvinigrod. The castle of Lisianka was found in a state of defence, but its commandant, Kulhevski, confiding in the promise of the Haidamaks, that the lives of those who had taken refuge in the castle should be respected, if

they would surrender, opened the gates and every soul was piked to death.

Bialocerkiev, rather a strong place, resisted their attack, they however advanced, spreading carnage. Numerous bodies of peasantry hastened to join them. The Zaporoges furnished the peasants with arms, and these led them from house to house. "All that were not of the Greek religion, old men, women, children, nobles, servants, monks, artisans, Jews, and Lutherans, all were massacred. All the nobility resident in their mansions in the Ukraine, were murdered. The Jews, still more hated on account of their extortions, were almost all burnt alive.

These wretches amused themselves in hanging to the same gallows a nobleman, monk, Jew, and dog, with the inscription—"they are all one."

There was seen hanging to the same gallows, a mother, surrounded by her four children. One of these bands buried alive, near each other, several hundred men, with their heads above the earth, which they subsequently mowed down like the grass of the field. They ripped open the bowels of pregnant women, and tearing out the children, replaced them by dead cats.

Some of those guilty of these crimes were hardly ten years of age ; they were urged to these murders by their fathers, who kept the hands of the unfortunate victims tied behind their backs, whilst they exercised the children in murdering, poniarding, and making their victims suffer slow deaths.

If an unknown person fell into their hands, and they suspected him of dis-

guising his truth or religion, they forced him to massacre with his own hands noblemen and priests.

All that could escape fled. Nothing was to be met with in the villages but murdered women and children crushed under horses' hoofs. An unfortunate escaping from this carnage crossed villages, the wells of which were filled with children's bodies. Three towns, fifty burghs, and several thousand houses, spread over the country, were burnt.

The City of Human.

A crowd of women, children and old people, abandoned, helpless, because all who were capable of bearing arms had joined the

confederates, had taken refuge behind the walls of Human (Houmagne) a horrible plot was formed to surprise those unfortunates. General Nisse, who commanded at that time in those parts, gave a Prussian Major who was then with fifty men buying horses, secret orders to withdraw ; the fidelity of the cossacs of Human was at the same time sought to be corrupted. Already their chief, Gonta, became suspected. Gonta, a simple peasant of Rozsúski, was sufficiently well informed, as well as being gifted by his lord, Potocki, with two villages, he hoped very soon to gain hereditary proprietorship of them, and become ennobled ; he had always shewn himself faithful and brave. The administrator of Human, Mladanovicz informed him that he was suspected ; Gonta exculpated himself by solemn protestations, and he renewed his oath with all the enre-

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gimented Cossacs. Mladanovicz did not withdraw his confidence from him, and sent him under the orders of a colonel against the Haidamaks ; but the conscience of Gonta was soon shaken ; the ukase of the Tsarina was shewn to him ; he was assured that not himself alone but all Greeks would be admitted to all the dignitaries of the Republic, and associated with the government. A few days after, the Zaporoges, with the insurgent people, led by Zelezniak and Gonta, with his detachment, appeared fraternizing before Human. Mladanovicz foreseeing the defection of his Cossacs understood the inevitable danger, and did not conceal it from those who were shut up in the town. They filled the churches without delay, preparing themselves for death ; and he, after a short resistance, accepted the interview with Gonta, who, at the termination of the

conference, on the 24th of June, gained possession of a gate and delivered it to his people.

They ordered the inhabitants to carry to the public square all their property, all their money, in order to ransom themselves. This order was being executed when the massacre commenced as well as the pillage of all that remained in the houses. A merciless butchery—from which few escaped. Still fewer were spared by Gonta. These were baptised by aspersion, and admitted to the Greek rite, and of this number the children and young girls were divided between the cossacs and Zaporoges. Sixteen thousand persons of all ages and sexes were destroyed. A bishop came from Russia to establish his religion in that country. They danced, sung, gorged themselves with strong drink, and detached bands spread carnage

as far as Granor, Toplik, Daszov, Tulcrin, Monasterzika, Haissin, Bosovka, Ladiszin. Szidlo even extended it as far as Ralta, where he crossed the Turkish frontier in following his victims. Some other bands penetrated to Poberze along the Dniester. In the neighbourhood of Czehrin, a potter named Niezyvy, spread desolation. Bor darenko with a band ravaged the environs of Tastov (Chvastov) not far from Kijov.

*Destruction of the little Russian Cossacks
and Zaporoges.*

It was during this period that the name of the Zaporoges and ancient Cossacks of little

Russia disappeared and was heard of for the last time. The lands of Human and the Ukraine still smoked with the trickling blood. The bodies of the Leopold butchery were not yet cold, when Russia took efficacious measures to exterminate these populations, the Tsarinn triumphing over the confederates of Bar stayed their destruction. We have seen the reiterated promises of the Tzars to the Cossacs, we have observed the faithlessness which was sure to follow their mornarchical word and oath, and the constant complaints and occasional revolts of the oppressed. In consideration of the military succour which they engaged to furnish, they were promised a considerable subsidy, the absolute freedom of their persons, exemption from all kinds of taxes and the conservation of their privileges and laws. The information of all these promises has been the price of services

which they rendered Russia against Poland and the Turks, for the promised subsidy was not paid them. These free agriculturists have been subjected to the capitulation and attached to the glebe, like the Russian peasantry, whilst by the order of Catharine II. the agricultural academy of St. Petersburg examined whether it would be more advantageous that the peasants should remain serfs, or be set free. At the same time a great portion of the lands belonging to the Cossacks was given to the other class of serfs, which are called nobles in Russia (*dvorzanstvo*, *boiar*). Instead of the officers that they had always elected, and domestic arbitrators before whom they came to reconcile their differences, the court of St. Petersburg sent them Russian tribunals, the most corrupt in Europe, and Russian or German officers to command them. The post of

Hetman was abolished. When Catherine II. examined slaves from all the provinces for her projected code which was never made ; the Cossacs claimed as a right the preservation of their institutions, the preservation of their law. The Governor of the Ukraine, according to the orders which he had received, sent their deputies chained, and transported to St. Petersburg where they almost all died in prison of hunger and cold.*

The Cossacs of little Russia, in consequence of these cruelties, ceased to exist. They have been embodied from that time forward, in regiments of regular troops and are enslaved. There then remained only to reduce the Zaporoges, and to destroy their retreat, a real sanctuary for the people of

* Scherer p. 262. Garran de Coulon. †. iii. p. 6.

their faith. This was still on the islands of the Dnieper, where a refuge was always open to all the dissatisfied and criminals of this nation. It preserved up to the last its primary institutions. The Empress herself, and the Grand Duke respecting their organization, had been inscribed on the list of this military brotherhood. Their exact number was not known, even they themselves were not certain of it ; they were thought to amount to from 40 to 50 thousand. Russia enclosed them within that chain of fortresses by which she circulated all that she had conquered from the frontier wilderness. The Russians sought all possible means of weakening and subjugating this formidable society ; they seized upon some of the islands ; they often made armed violations of the territories of others in order to carry away by force the Russian

slaves who took refuge there. They kept women in the neighbourhood, seeking thus to draw these brigands from their hiding-place, get them into their pay, reduce them to the same discipline as the other Cossacs. Weakened and reduced to a dangerous situation by all these means, the Zaporoges, proceeding at the instigation of Catherine to ravage the Ukraine were, as we have already observed, partly destroyed by the Russians. Catherine at the same time outraged them by offering to deliver up to the sultan 200 living Zaporoges, and to abandon them to his vengeance, as a reparation of the violation of the Turkish frontier by her own regular troops. Order and quiet following its subjection the Ukraine, after the reduction of the Cossacs of little Russia, after the defeat of Bar's confederates, and the humiliation of

the dismembered republic, when an imperial declaration, made the 14th of August, 1775, informed Europe of the destruction of the root of this great family, the Zaporog Cossac. In this Ukase, the chaste Catharine II, after having reproached the Zaporoge Cossacs with their licentious mode of life, their attachment to their laws (which she herself had sworn to maintain,) and their claim to a territory which could not, she said, belong to them, as in their primitive institutions, they had no laws, consequently announces that she finds herself compelled by her duty to God, to her empire, and to the whole of the human race, to destroy the hordes of Zaporog. This religious sovereign adds that the destruction of this people has been effected by her troops in the best possible order, with tranquillity, and without any resistance on the part

of the Cossacs, as they only perceived the troops advancing upon them when they had surrounded them on all sides.

Kmet-Lech.

In the western parts of Sclavonia, to the north of the Carpathian mountains, a great portion of the inhabitants bore the name of kmet, kmiot. In the remotest times, this denomination was given to the ancients, supreme councillors, and those highest in civic rank. It was applied to all citizens ; to all the free population capable of participating in the council ; to all the cultivators of the soil : at last it became a denomination of the inferior and subordinate classes. Thus,

in Bohemia and Poland it indicated the peasants.* In Bohemia a portion of the population preserved with this title its prerogatives ; it took the first rank and was followed by the Lechs and Vladicks.† The

* The origin of the appellation Kmet is said to be unknown ; however, the radical letter refers without difficulty to an etymology conformable to the signification of the word. K'miot, K'miec, K'miet, is derived from um, (conception---knowledge) and is composed of Ku-um, (for the council) in the Polish idiom, um is lost, only a few derivatives remain, umiec, to know, prezed miot, subject or object, (object of the conception) prezy miot, (moral and intellectual quality of man).

‡ Caze knieznavy pravity posty---po vsse kmety, lechy a vladiki, the princess sends messages to all the Kmetons, Lechs, and Vladiks, says the poem, entitled Judgment of Libousse, vstali kmeti lesi i vladiki, pochvalili pravdu pozakonu, the kmetons lechs, and vladiks, rose and rendered themselves justice according to the law.

Lechs form an inferior and younger race, their name even served to designate a young warrior. The Polish traditions say that a Lech of their country sent into Bohemia his younger brother who established himself there with his people. The Lechite youth establishing itself therefore in Bohemia and uniting with the natives formed a higher class, who were only inferior to the most powerful Kmetons who composed the highest civic class, and who long preserved their honorary title of Kmeto, a title since explained and replaced by that of Senator, Landed Consul, or Lord (*Panosza*) but there were only a small portion of the Kmetons who preserved their ancient position by allying themselves with the new colonists.

The remainder of the natives fell into an inferior situation, even subordinate to the Lechs and their bladik companions in arms.

The remainder of this people, deprived of its civic rights, was distinguished by the ancient name of Kmeto, in order not to be confounded with the class of Robots, or Robotaries, whose servile work assimilated them to slaves. *

* Robota---rough menial work. From *Rob*, slave is derived *parobek* or *po-robie*, the son or descendant of *Rob*. In the course of time these expressions lost their ancient signification. Robota means any kind of work—an occupation. The Parobek is a free man, in service, employed in agricultural labours. With the Russians, Rob preserves its primitive value, who when applying an endearing and familiar expression to their children, use the word “Rabiata.”

Inequality and gradation of Classes.

This inequality was established in Sclavonia before the introduction of Christianity; it varied according to local circumstances. Different portions of these populations rose or fell according to the march of events. At one time it was the newly established, who, finding hospitality, profited by the advantages offered them ; at another time it was the conquerors, forcing the conquered to an unequal union or to submit to a yoke and servitude ; lamentable consequences of decisive conquest.

The chiefs took advantage of these dissensions, and we have observed elsewhere how Christianity and foreign influence worked in their favour and contributed to

consolidate this inequality by arresting the popular fluctuations in the more durable and considerable states which were gaining consistence under the influence of christian civilization.

Slachcic—Noble.

The Lechite race, divided since centuries into different populations, was about being agglomerated into a more compact mass, as well as extending its domination under one chief. The Polanians acted a considerable part in this undertaking, and took the first step in the road which was to lead to it. The whole of the population which co-ope-

rated in forming the State did not obtain the same advantage. It was already composed of different classes, and amongst the Polanians and other Lechites there was a superior Lechite class, which formed the high class of Lechites, whose descendents, in order to be distinguished from the Lechite Polish Mazovian, and Chrobate masses, took the names of Z-lehcic, Z-lachcic, S-lachcic (*ex lechitæ progenitus*) that is to say deriving its origin from the race issuing from lech, from a Lechite. The pronunciation modified this appellation into Szlachcic—

(Schlakhtzitz). This class of men was termed in Latin nobles. When the country became a state the authorities by raising inferiors to this classennobled them. Already about 1040, King Kazimir granting an ordinary warrior more extensive pos-

sessions raised him to a higher rank.* The class of Szlachcic, Slachcic, Slachta collectively was always strengthened and augmented by fresh individuals who acquired the prerogatives which it conferred.

* Non de nobilium genere, sed de gregariis militibus nobiliter opem tulit. Kazimirus civitatem ei contulit et cum dignitate inter nobiliores extulit (Gallus: 1, 20.)—quidam de sordido famulitii genere avo originario, sed vir et facundus et strenuus nomine maslaus (Matth, 11, 00. pincerna Meschonis et minister, post mortem ipsius Mazoviae gentis sua persuasione princeps existebat et signifer. (Gall.i, 20.)

Poland is not Feudal.

IN terminating my reflections on the second period of Polish history, I shall add a few observations against the hypothesis which makes a feudal state of Poland, and assimilates it falsely to the system of western countries, whence result other hypotheses which distract the observing mind. Several writers have already remarked the abuses of feudalism in different monstrously disfigured histories. Hallam, a very judicious historian observed justly, that only France, Great Britain, and a few Franco-Norman colonies constituted feudal states. Everywhere else there existed a stronger or weaker influence of feudalism ; the adjacent countries are particularly affected by it, and if a country

is to be found radically opposed to the feudal principle, it certainly is Poland. The penetrating eye of this author has well judged and appreciated the historical character of this country.

Several French writers who sought to ascertain its social organization, acknowledged this truth. Jean Jacques Rousseau saw with pleasure that Poland, of all existing nations, approached nearer to the spirit of the ancient Greek and Roman institutions. Mably says to the French, the Poles have never known our feudal laws nor customs ; their republic is only an association of landed proprietors ; a general interest must always have united them.

Rulhieres also observes, that it is not the feudal form of government which exists in Poland, but a more ancient one—that of the Franks, Goths, of almost all the popu-

lations issued from the forests of the North, which have preceded feudality. In fact, if it be useful to compare any other social organization to that of Poland, it would be much better to assimilate it to the allodial system which preceded feudality ; but the authority of so many celebrated writers could not effect anything against this unreflecting mass, which, with its confused ideas, preaches error. These illustrious French authors spoke of modern Poland. Hallam spoke of Poland during the middle ages ; I think that the preceding considerations support his assertions, and the following will agree with those of other authors whose opinion I have cited.

Conditions of Feudality are foreign to Poland.

The conditions of feudality are, 1stly ; the personal dependence and servitude of every one, brought to a system, a gradationary chain by which neither the humblest slave nor the lord are free. The immediate vassals are those of first order ; those of the second, Barons, sub-feudatories, and bannerets are reciprocally liege men, vassals and serfs to their lords and owe them service as the vassals of the crown to their Suzerain. This gradation was sometimes confused by an admixture which often affects the Suzerain himself, and subjects him to vassalage.

2ndly. The absence of all absolute pro-

perty .Each one holds the land from another ; the Suzerain being the titular proprietor, and each one of the lords granting an investiture to his liege men, from whom he received homage for it. The land Fief or Manor served as salary, and the salaried feudatory owed personal service to the person of the lord who had invested him with it.

In this state of society there are no functionaries, but vassals instead. Nothing similar can be applied to the two periods of Polish history which we have ran through. The personal liberty and independence of each is the basis of society, which considers even captives as destined to a speedy emancipation.

There were lands, however, held on conditions which assimilated them to feudal tenures.

These small portions of the glebe called Kmetonal heritages were only to be cultivated at second-hand, but this destination of the soil did not establish any bond of vassalage. The Kmeton proprietor was free and only held them on a perpetual lease, as we have observed. There is however to be observed in this tenure a clause which binds the Kmeton subject of his lord to divide with him the judicial fines, but this is the salary for protection and patronage, and not the servitude of a vassal. Each member of the nobility was free to offer his protection to each of the Kmetons, grant him refuge, become bail for him, and lend him his assistance as a free man. In general, landed property is absolute; no investiture or homage. If the donor reserve to himself some advantage this does not authorise him in considering

himself master of the domain which he has given, nor of the person to whom he has given it. The personal conditions are so rare that they present extraordinary exceptions, the result of the imitation of foreign examples, as practised by German strangers, who established themselves in an isolated manner. A single functionary, Sviatopelk, seized upon authority, governed and reigned without investiture and homage. Each one is simply answerable for service to the state. The civic national idea always predominates and does away with the evil which egotism excites and nourishes. No feudal conceptions indeed existed; the language has no expression for feudalism, it makes use of foreign terms, and when the words *allodium*, *feudum*, *lehen*, *lehu*, *homagium*, *investitura*, appear in Polish history, they are often strangely and monstrously

employed, and it is necessary to reflect well on their just value not to be mistaken in the inferences one draws in historical narration.

Allodial and Feudal System.

Expansion of the latter.

Montesquieu has treated of the origin of Feudalism, he has consequently analysed the centuries of the allodial system, and which gave birth to the feudal system. How many readers, however, without reflection form a confused idea, thinking that all is feudalism in it, feudalizing in their own

minds the social state from Pharamond until Louis XVI.

The penetrating spirit of the German writers made a more scrupulous distinction of the two systems so different, and even of the shades of difference between them. The scrutinizers of the middle ages, the numerous authors of elementary histories, abridged, or in full, have all established these differences ; liberty is the principle of the allodial system, says the historian, Rottek, and servitude is the principle of the feudal system, the one makes all the rights and duties depart from the idea of national unity, and these are the civic rights and duties ; the other makes all issue from the personal engagement which result from the exigences and obligations agreed upon. In the first ; it is the nation or its authorities which demands fidelity — obedience,

in the other it is only what is personally owed. The allodial system is therefore more noble, it rests on an idea, acknowledges and protects the dignity of man and the citizen—the feudal system, on the contrary, in its conception is a declared enemy of this dignity, it gives a preference to salary over personal liberty, it leans towards disorder and slavery. To these observations must be added that it was the result of disorder and subjection—and that if it received birth and overthrew the allodial system under the Frank domination it spread far its ramifications and influence. Established and perfected in France, England, Scotland, and Naples, it ravaged the Peninsula of the Pyrenees, but crumbled in upper Italy against the franchises of the towns, sowing there however a very pernicious vegetation.

Germany in the centre of Europe presents

an Empire with a hundred heads, one of these cut off gives birth to several others younger ; feudalism takes a deep root which in its numerous and dark ramifications is intermixed with an heterogenous vegetation, but these branches were strong enough to smother and uproot it when they themselves were falling into decrepitude. A great portion of the Sclavonian franchises giving way were buried amidst the ruins of the Empire. The more the irruption and influence of feudalism advances towards the East the weaker it becomes. Denmark, Norway, Sweden to the North, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary to the South are affected at a more modern period, in a different manner more or less hurtful to their principle or existence. They present a peculiar system opposed to that of the states of the west. The Ruthenian countries present

another picture of commercial cities, of Knez, and of a rustic simplicity struggling under the weight of Greek and biblical maxims.



(From Mickiewicz.)

THE noble caste which governed the Germanic and Scandinavian nations, pretended to issue in a direct line from the gods, like the noble caste known in the East by the name of Azes, which at present governs several countries. These demi-gods thought themselves called upon to govern the inferior classes, but not to till the earth.

Having established themselves on the ruins of the Roman Empire, they left the property to the conquered people. They only levied imposts on the people, to purchase arms and necessaries of war; they also reserved to themselves the right of hunting. In general they were more humane and mild masters than the Roman Prefects and *Presides*, whose avidity had become proverbial, at the period of the fall of the Roman Empire. These properties divided, composed the fiefs or feudal tenures.

The feudal chiefs were therefore not absolute masters of the lands. They could neither sell nor alienate them without the permission of the state represented by the sovereign.

At the extinction of a family the land was given to another family, who thus contracted the obligation of defending the

state. Gradually however the nature of feudal land changed, firstly by the admixture of the Roman law, and secondly by the action of royalty, which found its advantage in suppressing feudality.

Before the French revolution, there existed a great number of feudal lands and rights, but already the Burgher and many of the people, obliged long since to fight and defend the national soil, began to ask by what right the military chiefs possessed immense lands, when the people, called to the military state, were alone subject to forced labour, and feudal property did not even pay any tax.

This state necessarily changed property held by so preposterous a tenure and reacted against the proprietors themselves.

After the revolution, thanks to the code, certain proprietors gained immensely, having

become absolute masters of the soil ; whilst at the same time freeing themselves from all the military service which formerly weighed upon the land.

With the Sclavonian population the states of things was very different ; all parish lands, as we have seen, belonged to the State. At the period of the establishment of the Polish states all these lands were in the hands of men calling themselves milites. Nobles, who were not to defend any particular property or parish, but the state. This was a great improvement. The military force became sufficient to protect all property.

Until nearly the tenth century, all parish lands were looked upon as only granted to military or fighting men. The nobility could neither divide, sell, nor alienate property. The King, however, granted, from time to time, certain privileges to noblemen ;

and in this manner many lands have eluded the ordinary law, and are become private property. The first example of division of land, authenticated by a diplomatist, dates from the end of the eleventh century. The master could not divide his land without his family ; and the custom of asking the advice of the *agnats* remained customary until the eighteenth century in the Polish and Lithuanian Provinces. The only portion of parish territory, the nature of which has always remained the same, is that which is known by the name of Starosties. The establishment of Starosties is what distinguishes the Polish soil from the territory of all the Slavonian nations. The Starosties are grand life fiefs. The state was accustomed to grant the administration and usufruct of these lands to some renowned chiefs as a sort of indemnity for

the national services, and as a means of serving the state. These fiefs could never be divided, neither could they be declared hereditary, with a few rare exceptions.

The Starosties constituted one fourth part of the territory of ancient Poland. These Starosties were however sought to be misapplied. In the sixteenth century these lands were called—*panis bene merentium*, (the bread of those who had deserved well of their country). They were granted as a recompense for services rendered the state, whereas they were only formerly an indemnity and means of serving the state.

In the Starosties we can recognize the ancient nature of all the parish property, or what we now call noble property. It has always belonged to the state ; it was only looked upon as a means of serving the state.

We will give a few more examples in speaking of Polish public right.

It is now easy to perceive what an unfortunate influence all endeavours to arrange property in accordance with the ideas borrowed from foreign countries must have had. You know the history of those attempts. The French code introduced into the Duchy of Warsaw, declared the peasant free, that is to say it allowed him to change master, to leave the land of a too avaricious or severe master, and place himself under the protection of another. But the noble was recognised by the code not only as proprietor of the parish and seignorial lands, of which he could not dispose according to the real sense of the Polish law, nor of what was still more serious—the peasants' land. Similar legislation has been looked upon as progress! The code

has done great good to Poland in general, by simplifying legislative relations. Besides, its establishment coincided with the action of a fresh element, which made this people act, and developed its force. But as regards the rights of property the code has done great harm, and this evil threatens to increase. There are proprietors who feel their consciences at rest, and who think themselves dispensed from protecting the peasant morally and physically. Some form the project of establishing in these lands foreign colonists ; who being more economical and better workmen would enrich them more easily. They do not see that they would thus destroy the Slavonian race, and that these colonists would never have the same devotion to the national cause ;—that they would not defend their chiefs at the peril of their lives. I think I have cited to you, in

speaking of the Slavonian community, the example that the chiefs of the English and Scottish clans have given us : these chiefs of clans—the elder brothers of their countrymen ; according to the Gaelic law, chiefs of their persons and properties—became, after the introduction of British legislation, firstly, feudal chiefs ; and secondly, proprietors of the lands of their clan ; and this, at the time, was admitted on all hands as progress. Everyone saw in it a step towards liberty ; because the poor member of the community was thus emancipated from the clan. His elder brothers, however, having become dukes and members of the British parliament, forgot the moral bond which united them to these populations. They looked upon them afterwards as farmers, and by degrees came to the determination of selling their land to strangers. The Gaelic race being

neither sufficiently economical nor laborious, then established colonists. They also bred fine flocks of sheep, finding it more profitable to breed sheep than to support their countrymen. They thus struck the last blow at the Gaelic race. This is what the Polish proprietors would do if they accepted the idea introduced by the French code.

On another side, in the Duchy of Posen, the Prussian government has divided the property. The parish land remained in the hands of the lord ; but a portion of the land has been given to each peasant for ever. But this peasant, governed contrary to his nature, separated from the parish, can no longer answer the exigences of the government. He is not sufficiently economical to pay the tax on a fixed day, and he has no humane protector who can defend him against the government, when the im-

placable fiscal representative arrives and sells his property to a German or Jew speculator ; for the Machiavelism of the Prussian government protects the foreign, and opposes difficulties to the national buyers in the purchase of lands. It is even forbidden the peasantry, by an express article, to establish themselves on the estate of a noble, or to take land on condition of paying it by days of labour ; because it was foreseen that this would re-establish things in their ancient state. What happened ? A class is forming amongst the Slavonians hitherto unknown—a class of day labourers. The proprietors build small houses, which they fill with these vagabonds, and at last a labouring population will be formed.

There exist a few exceptions—peasants, who are become richer and more en-

lightened ; but the old Slavonic community disappears.

The Austrians have left the provinces nearly in their ancient state ; but far from developping the community they have paralysed all life in it.

Of all the Polish territories ruled by foreigners, the happiest are those governed by the Turks ; of all conquerors who have attacked the Slavonians, the Turks have been the most humane ; and the Slavonians owe them real gratitude. With them, up to the present moment, the parish remains proprietor of the lands ; all relation between the property and man have retained their ancient and religious simplicity ; and it is to be hoped that this people will suffer the least in the new organization of the Slavonian populations, towards which this race is in-

dubitably inclined. Therefore, the great question of the Slavonian race relative to property is the re-establishment of the parish where it has been destroyed, and the development of those which still exist.

Notwithstanding the influence of foreign doctrines and ideas, the Polish nobility has preserved the real tradition of the title to its possessions. It has always looked upon its lands as the property of the country.

It will thus be explained with what astonishing facility the richest noblemen, at all times, abandoned their castles and lands. At the time of the Saxon King Augustus, when the Confederation of Tarnogrod was being formed against the King, a rich Polish nobleman was called upon to preside over this assembly. This nobleman had just disposed by will of his lands and lived retired on some property which he had reserved.

What does he do when called upon to put himself at the head of a political and dangerous affair ? He destroys his will and retakes his estates in order to risk them. This is an historical fact. He felt deeply that it was not allowable for him to dispose of his lands and property from the moment that he thought the republic required to be organised in a different manner to what then existed.

This duty of commencing a great act by a sacrifice has been shown by the Marshal of the Confederation, of Tarnogrod. I could also cite numerous examples of similar devotion to the national cause.

The nobles of the Circassian tribes, the Kniazes and Princes, have the same idea regarding property. A rich man, a noble, possessing money is a dishonourable man. The same opinion is found again amongst

the Poles, and even examples of it found amongst their sovereigns. The poet Kochanowski reproached the lords with luxury, which then only consisted in having a number of servants. He recalls the time when a noble had only one horse and his armour, and he prays the Almighty that Poland may always be thus poor.

“Bodajby Zawsze tak uboga Polska Zostala, a pohancom sroga.” A noble Caucasian is obliged by custom to give all that is asked of him, he has not a right to refuse a present; but this custom does not oblige the merchants and peasants. Princes, Lechs and Czechs have been since ruined by strangers, and been obliged to beg their bread.

The remainder of this custom still exists amongst the Poles. If any one praise a piece of furniture or a horse, the noble proprietor of this horse or furniture is obliged to send

it directly to the person who has praised it ; and when in foreign countries similar praise is looked upon as a compliment, in Poland care is taken strongly to inculcate children to avoid all compliments or praise, because these compliments or praise are looked upon as a clever mode of begging.

Money was looked upon as so derogatory to a noble and gentleman of the old school, still imbued with the prejudices of his race and still possessing all its qualities, that the celebrated Prince Radzivil, the richest proprietor in christendom wore a torn and miserable coat which he exchanged with every noble he met. He had never more than a crown about him, when he had spent it he took another from his treasury. He said it would be dishonouring his family to carry several pieces of gold in his pocket. Obligated at length to emigrate and live much in

foreign countries, he only took with him a single crown of gold, but had one cast, so says tradition, as large as a coach wheel.

Polish Titles.

It is well that the statute of Vislica makes gradations, and that the legislation of Mazovia continues still to support the difference between Slachcic and Vlodika. These differences were soon to vanish. In the provinces of the crown this inequality underwent a co-equation by the privileges of Louis, by the pactes that were made with him and by the legislative modifications of the time of Jagello. The nobility took the style

of the equestrian order, *ordo equestris ricertsvo* (from the German Ritterschaft, 128) and henceforward all inequality disappeared ; each noble adopted certain arms, and many parishes, (posada,) whose population, amounted to several hundred families, made use of the same arms and same name. All the nobility took and fixed upon the family name which generally derives its origin from the landed property in possession at that time. Hence arises the frequent termination in Ski and Cki (tzski) which, answers to the Latin *de* and western idioms. The Ruthenians preferred adopting for their family names their patronymic terminating in Vicz (Vitche) the Lithuanians fixed upon the name of the chief of the tribe of the family name without changing the termination. All the nobility were equally emblazoned. Kleinot Szlachechi had the

family name *Imie* and fraternized by the expression of brother, *brat bracia*. The proverb said, the noble on his estate is equal to the palatine* because neither riches nor the highest functions ought to infringe on civil equality and fraternity.

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In Poland the families take their titles from the principal lands which they possess, and in making a participle adjective, which is equal to our *de* : for instance, we say the Archbishop of Gnezen, the Palatine of Cracow, and the Poles say the Gnezenian Archbishop, the Cracovian Palatine, in accordance with the spirit of the Latin language, and

* *Slachcic na zagrodzie, rovny Voievodzie.*

without any exception ; it is the same with proper names and family names of dignity, the lords of Potok, Polkiew and Zamosc are called Potokien. Zolkieven, Zamoscien, with a further termination in ski, which marks the adjective in the Polish language, Thus the Palatine Krakovski, the Archbishop Gniezienski, Mr. Zolkiewski, (possessor of Zolkiew, Mr. Stobnicki, whose seat is at Stobnicka, and whose family is from Stobnicka, &c.) We will give a few more examples relative to the names of families of Ritviany, Ritvianski, Ostrog, Ostrogski ; Tarnow, Tarnowski of Zamosc, Zamoscki, softened into Zamoiski. Of Olesnica gives Olesnicki, of Szidloviec Szidlovieski, of Chmielnik Chmielnicki, of Potok Potocki, of Czarniek Czarniecki, (pronounce everywhere tzki because, the c is everywhere and always tz). With regard to

The high nobility who hold the ski not like the country nobles, but from some considerable landed property to mark their dignity and distinction, (double their name) as Franciscus de Potok Potocki; Johannes in Zolkiev Zolkiewski; Zamosciu, na Zamoiski, instead of Jan Z Zamoscia Zamoiski as a simple noble would style himself if possessed of a small property called Zamosc.

With the Ruthenians Daszko, Daskiewicz, Danilo, Danilovicz, Olelko, Olelkovicz, as if one said Olelkonide. Daszkonide. Also in Lithuania and Prussian families have proper names, independent of their lands, as Donhof, Pac (Patz) Sapieha: Soltan Radzivill, after the fashion of Germany and other countries (Dalerac, t. c.) Czerna Gaztovd or Gasztold, Korsak, Reiter. Besides these general rules, there are in Poland, and

in the Ruthenian countries, a great number of names, the origin of which is capricious, such as Gomolka, an oval cheese and Sinp, a Vulture.

Princely Titles.

WHEN equality became established amongst the Polish nobility and was about to communicate itself, with all its prerogatives, to the Ruthenian, Lithuanian, Prussian, and Livonian nobility, then spacious Lithuania encompassing almost the whole extent of the ancient Ruthenian territory, supported a multitude of Knez and princely populations.

The Ruthenian title of Kniaz answered to that of Duke or Prince ; it was the title of the sovereign house of Rurik and Gedimin. When both these numerous families lost their sovereign authority the title, instead of disappearing, became the honorary title of a multitude of private individuals. The Lithuanian senate on many official occasions gave the title of Kniaz to the senators, chancellors, and other dignitaries of Poland, who had no distinctive title. The civic character of the crown caused the court to ridicule this title and to jest by attributing its derivation to the dark forests of great game, *Knieié*, as if these Princes, Kniaz, had their habitations in the woods, like forest quadrupeds.

The definitive union of Lithuania with Poland reduced the title of Kniaz to a nullity,—and the civil spirit persuaded all

the princely houses as well Lithuanian as Rutherian to neglect it, so that singularly it was found easier to bring this indigenous and inveterate right into disuetude, than to stop the foreign contagion with which several aristocrats innoculated their own country in the sixteenth century. By means of family pacts many wanted to establish an exceptional order of succession, contrary to the general law, in order to assure themselves of the splendour of their house, in the person of their first born. They sought to establish entails called ordination. These arrangements were mostly disapproved and abrogated, but Zamoiski himself set the bad example of establishing an entail which took consistency ; the others procured themselves foreign titles for their families, and the title of Count was clandestinely established in some aristocratic families.

The great Zamoiski himself, who refused, like a republican, the title of Prince, wished in his advanced age to obtain the title of Count, in order to fight a duel with Prince Charles, Duke of Sudermania and usurper of Sweden. These titles made a few ambitious people of importance in foreign countries, but stained their civic character in their own ; and there are very few who would have dared parade it in the heart of the republic. It would have been dangerous to have gone against the brotherhood.

The last King of Poland.

THE residence of Stanislas Augustus at St. Petersburg must have been very melancholy,

particularly when it is considered that it was during the reign of Paul—Masson relates the following anecdote on this subject—“ At a court ceremony,” he says, “ Paul is fond of showing himself, sceptre in hand, the crown on his head and an imperial mantle on his shoulders. Stanislas, who followed him, borne down by old age and lassitude, was obliged to seat himself in a corner whilst Paul made three or four hundred court slaves kiss his hand. He perceived that the old King had seated himself during this ceremony and sent an aid-de-camp to command him to stand up,” f. 11, p. 169. Masson describes Paul’s regulations concerning the Catholics at St. Petersburg, and then he says, “ Paul had the body of the unfortunate King of Poland buried in the same church, and he came himself to superintend the preparations for the obse-

quies. An upholsterer, decorating the vaults, at the top of a ladder, in waistcoat and trowsers, in order to work more easily, happened to catch his eye. Paul, learning that it was a Frenchman named Leroux, ordered him to descend, and had the bastinado administered to him in the midst of the church. "To the anecdote which Masson has preserved we will add a few others more facetious, which happened on the occasion of the funeral.

"As Stanislas Augustus was an ex-king, who had abdicated his crown, the Emperor Paul thought proper to re-instate him on his throne. He had his mortal remains dressed out in a royal mantle, and himself placed a crown on the head of the deceased. In this manner he replaced him on the throne, and re-crowned him King, as the Russians in their rites

rebaptize the bodies of the unorthodox before burying them in their churchyards. After this first ceremony, the Poles present and the Russians of the court were called upon to kiss the hand of the royal corpse. The body remained sometime deposited in the palace. When the religious ceremonies began, having asked what rites were practised at the death of the Bourbon Kings of France, Paul learnt that the royal family had a right to share certain ecclesiastical honors with the priests. He wished to know them, in order to render personally this testimony to the King, his brother, without at the same time wounding Russian orthodoxy. In consequence, he and the two Grand Dukes, his sons, Alexander and Constantine, and the Catholic priests, incensed and sprinkled with holy water, the body lying in its coffin in the middle of

the palace. Paul then followed the funeral procession to the door of the Catholic church, where he did not enter, being of another faith ; but wishing to make this spectacle more showy he had new vestments, and a richer archiepiscopal mitre made, of which he himself furnished the design, and according to his orders, his imperial cipher was (which resembled a gibbet) placed in front of the mitre instead of the cross, and the Archbishop Sistrzencevicz, his head covered with the mitred gallows,* and the crosier in hand, marched like an imperial grenadier, to the great satisfaction of this Emperor Paul.

* The P the initial letter of the name of Paul the first Pavel Piervoi is written in the Russian Alphabet, by a sign which exactly resembles a gibbet.

The Tarnow Massacres.

(From the *Reforme* of the 27th of May, 1846.)

The following at last is the report of an eye-witness who comes forward to attest on free French soil, the horrors with which the Austrian government has polluted its own fame, in unhappy Gallicia.

Until this very day, nothing has reached us but the mangled reports, which found their way through the German newspapers. The document we now publish, will remain eternally annexed to the condemnation which all mankind ought to pass upon that government of assassins. We call upon the

independent newspaper-press to reproduce it. No fear of its ever being contradicted, need be entertained. Major Podolecki (*Podoletski*) is an honourable citizen, whose testimony is entitled to the full confidence of all honest men. Here is his letter, it is impossible to refrain from shuddering at its perusal.

“ Having succeeded in escaping from Austrian butchery, and Austrian gaols, I feel it to be my sacred duty towards so many unhappy victims, to trace a faithful account of those horrors, of which I happened to be an eye-witness.

I shall relate merely what I have seen myself, without any admixture of even the most authentic verbal reports ; but I have seen only a minimum part of a catastrophe unheard of in the history of crime.

After leaving Lemberg on the 16th of

February, when passing on the 19th through the village of Iodlova, in the district of Iaslo, I was surprised at the emotion caused in the minds of the inhabitants by vague and foolish rumours, arising from unknown sources, purporting that in the village of Demborzhin, (*Demborzyn*) *the nobles were massacring the peasantry*. Several inhabitants of Iodlova hastened thither, and returned of course without having found the least disturbance ; but these rumours were a melancholy and premeditated prelude to the storm of the succeeding day,

Having reached on the evening of the same day, the mansion of.....from which the owner was absent, I resolved, in common with M. Alexander Zdzinski, who had arrived before me, to remain there for the night.

On the following day I had, in order to

reach the object of my journey, to ride over the same way I had come the day before. Reaching Iodlova, I found there a crowd armed with scythes, pikes, and flails ; at first I supposed this to be a revolutionary outbreak, burst forth before the appointed time ; but I was soon bitterly undeceived, as the crowd surrounded me, howling, that they were acting *by virtue of an order of the government*. I asked them in vain to bring me before the lord of the village, or before the land-steward* They replied : “ You are all rascals, you wish to slaughter the people ; we have already arrested two of your kind.” Luckily for me, the *maire* of the village arrived, and ordered me to be

* The land stewards in Galicia, are officers acting under the controul of government

led to Demborzhin, to the Commissary of the District † who had remained there since the morning in search of suspected persons.

During this short trip, several peasants, whose military appearance seemed to point them out as dismissed soldiers, proposed to get rid of me instantly, in order to escape the trouble of escorting me further ; but the *maire* objected by placing himself in my sledge and accompanying me to Demborzhin.

In this last place several hundreds of armed peasants filled the court-yard, and the avenues of the mansion. I was introduced into the house of the land-steward. Soldiers kept watch in the lobby ; gendarmes (*finanz wache*) filled the parlour, and in presence of the commissary, M. Hayrofski, (*Hajrouski*) and of an officer of infantry, they were

† A rural police-director in Austria.

breaking open the chests and drawers, because the land-steward had in his flight taken the keys with him.

After the usual questions about my name and surname, my rank or profession, and the object of my journey, the commissary caused me to be transferred to an adjoining room, where I found two young men in irons. The gendarmes searched my boxes and my dress, and although they found nothing which could lead to any suspicion, M. Hayrofski intimated to me that I was to be taken to Iaslo, the chief town of the district.

In the afternoon we resumed our journey. The caravan, composed of several vehicles and sledges, contained, besides, M. Hayrofski, the commissary, an officer, twenty-four soldiers of infantry, about ten gendarmes, M. Bobrofski, (*Bobrowski*,) the

proprietor of the place, several women, children, a priest, two young men in fetters, and myself. I was placed between two gendarmes, who watched over every movement that I made.

Thus we traversed two or three villages before we reached the highway between Silsiw and Iaslo. The villages and all the roads and by-ways were guarded by armed crowds. At every moment the commissary and the gendarmes stopped to give secret instructions to the peasants.

At the ford of Iavorzhe (*Jaworze*) a bloody scene made me shudder: two mutilated corpses lay on a peasant's sledge without horses, left at a small distance off the high road. One of these victims was still breathing: it was M. Kuntzel, (*Kunzel*.) a chief wood-keeper in the neighbourhood.

After crossing the river we met with three

peasants on beautiful horses. As soon as they perceived the bayonets of the soldiers they hastened to join us and to depose into the hands of the officers of government several pieces of silver plate and dresses of both sexes. Their hands and clothes besprinkled with blood bore testimony to some recent crime.

Further on we found bands moving in the vicinity of the high-road in divers directions, as if in search of somebody. Whenever they perceived us they joined the caravan, to disencumber themselves of their booty.

Before the inn of Kamienista (*Kamienica*) the crowd was very numerous. Our caravan stopped. M. Hayrofski alighted from his vehicle, and immediately two unhappy ladies threw themselves at his feet, to implore his intervention to save the life of a man who was

the son of one of them, and the husband of the other. A little while after, the unfortunate * * *, sustained by the ladies, came out of the inn, but with a face so disfigured and mangled that his features were not recognisable. He was put into a sledge, as well as a wounded old man, and sent under an escort of a gendarme into a neighbouring mansion; the ladies followed on foot. The gendarme soon returned and related that the mansion, where he had left the wounded and the ladies, was completely ruined and contained neither furniture, doors nor windows.

Besides these victims, five corpses were found by us in the inn of Kamenitza. A friend of mine, M. Victor Bogush, (*Bogusz*) was one of them. He was still breathing when we arrived, but he expired soon after. One of the assassins boasted loudly before

the commissary, M. Hayrofski, and in presence of the whole caravan, of having killed M. Victor Bogush. "Yes, M. Commissary," said he, "it is myself, Thomas Iardis, from the village of Kamienitza, who killed Bogush with my own hand, I, who for ten years have served the Emperor." The commissary and the gendarmes talked familiarly and politely with these brigands.

It was very late when we arrived at Iaslo. I was confined in the town prison with two other prisoners, who were suspected of revolutionary proceedings, and were in irons, notwithstanding the strength of the prison walls and the numerous watches posted at every outlet.

On the following day I was brought into the governor's hotel. There, another commissary, M. Paioutchkofski, (*Pajarzowski*) drew up a written examination against me,

and as the papers found on the preceding day in my valise gave proofs that I had legal affairs to attend to at the tribunal at Tarnow, and as moreover two government officers who knew me personally, deposed in behalf of my personal identity, I was let out of prison and had a passport given to me for my returning home to the district of Zlotchhof (*Zloczow*). But this I did not intend to effect as called elsewhere by duty. I resolved therefore to prolong my stay, in which I succeeded under different pretences, until the 26th of February, although M. Prshybylski, (*Przgbylski*) the captain of the district of Iaslo (*), had himself commanded me to leave the place. During the interview I had on the occasion with this base

* "Captain of district" is a civil, executive office answering to that of Lieutenant-Governor.

and sanguinary man, I gave him an account of the deeds of horror I had witnessed on my way to Iaslo, of the frightful expressions of the assassin Thomas Iardas, and of the facility with which a stop could be put to all these atrocities : the peasants obeying still blindly the government officers, the soldiers and the gendarmes. He fell into a rage and exclaimed : “ You have willed it yourself, gentlemen ; I will have no pity for you.” Vainly I objected that his sentence could not refer to me, as I did not belong to his district and as I had for the first time in my life the pleasure of seeing him. He threw a tiger’s look at me and replied : “ Bah ! gentlemen ; you are all alike, I know all of you well, and therefore be gone.”

During my stay at Iaslo, more than ten dead and mutilated bodies were brought

every day to the town, besides a great number of wounded. Among the slain I remarked M. Denker the proprietor of Gogolof, and his son ; M. Alexander Zdzinski ; M. Piershhalla (*Pierszchala*) ; a little boy nine years old, whose eyes had been torn out ; several servants, and even foreign working men.

Among the ill-treated were M. Ninceud Pol, one of the stars of our literature ; his brother Joseph ; M. Titus Prshenilzki (*Przenicki*) ; Madame Pol, the wife of the celebrated author, M. Jordan and his wife ; and M. Mias, ancient French officer under the French empire.

The carts loaded with prisoners, with wounded or dead bodies, always under the escort of the murderers themselves, stopped constantly before the government hotel, where the officers and gendarmes re-

ceived the living, releasing some of them and imprisoning others. The corpses were returned to the murderers for interment on the spot where the murder had been committed. I saw agonizing men asking for and receiving the sacrament on the wheelbarrow which had brought them before the government hotel and in presence of their assassins who after awhile returned with their inanimate bodies.

The most awful wretchedness reigned amongst the prisoners. The wounded and the dying were heaped without distinction together. It was not before the eve of my departure from town that the caves were transformed into gaols, by partitioning large subterranean halls into cells by fresh brick-work.

Meanwhile the town was fast filling with those who in consequence of the proximity

of their abode had succeeded in escaping from the slaughter, often by *the help of their own* peasants. *Of their own peasants*, I say, as in this systematic, massacre, each commune was employed in the extermination of the inhabitants of some neighbouring mansion, but never of their own masters. Whenever the peasants showed a determination to save the life of their master, several other communes were summoned to combine together in order to overcome the resistance.

It is an extremely false and erroneous opinion which ascribes these horrors to the revenge of the peasants against the oppression of their masters. The country gentleman in Galicia was so isolated, so thwarted in all his proceedings by the influence of government, that he could do neither good nor harm to the peasants. No other oppression but that of the Austrian was possible. In fine, the

landed proprietors in Gallicia were so far from being inclined to oppress their peasants, that they expressed at each Diet at Lemberg, the wish of emancipating these selfsame peasants.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Austrian government organized the slaughter by means of this calumny as atrocious as it was absurd, *that the gentry were conspiring for the extermination of the peasants*. In the first moments the thirst of pillage did not enter into their motives, as the peasants gave up the whole booty to the gendarmes and the civil officers, believing that they were acting in legitimate self-defence ; alike in this case to the people of Jerusalem, who in their sacrilegious blindness slaughtered their prophets, they murdered the very men who were labouring to give them liberty, property, and political existence.

On the 26th of February, the martial law was proclaimed at Iaslo, and orders were given to the suspected to leave the town before three o'clock in the afternoon. To describe the terror and despair of the unfortunate, who, driven from this last refuge, were given up to the mercies of an infuriated mob, which having acquired a taste for crime, had discontinued to give up the plunder, and was ravaging and pillaging all around for its own profit, would be a vain task.

Some of those who were placed in this perplexity asked for passports to other Austrian provinces than Gallicia ; and although the government of the district had no right to give any, they did it nevertheless in order to disencumber the town from all those whom they feared, without having a sufficient pretence for imprisoning them.

The government allowed all these atrocities to be committed against the Polish nobility, by their abstaining from any intervention. It was however enough for a gentleman to be brought thither by the peasants, to be treated like a criminal. But the government dared, or willed not to imprison those who had succeeded in escaping. Finding myself in this melancholy situation, and judging it to be the only opportunity perhaps I would find for my salvation, I joined with the others in asking for a passport, and obtained one for Prague in Bohemia, where I found means of getting to France, this hospitable country which now constitutes the only refuge for political misfortune.

JOHN PODOLECKI.

From the district of Zlotchof.

THE END.

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